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A

NARRATIVE

OF THE

TRANSACTIONS

IN

BENGAL,

FROM THE

YEAR 1760, to the YEAR 1764,

During the GOVERNMENT of

Mr. HENRY VANSITTART.

Publiſhed by HIMSELF.

VOL. III.

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M DCC LXVI.

A

NARRATIVE

OF THE

TRANSACTIONS in BENGAL.

Extract of Conſultation of the 5th of March, 1763.

"TAKING now into conſideration the neceſſary regulations for reſtraining our agents and gomaſtahs, from interfering with any affairs of the country government, injuring the people, or being injured by them, and for deciding of diſputes which may ariſe between them: It is agreed,

FIRST, That at all thoſe aurungs which are adjacent to, or under the management of the ſubordinate factories, the gomaſtahs, in caſe of being injured by any of the officers of the government or their dependents, ſhall firſt make their

application for redreſs, in writing to the officer of the government, reſiding on the ſpot; from whom, if he does not receive immediate ſatisfaction, he ſhall ſend his complaint to the chief of the neareſt factory, who ſhall be empowered to take cognizance of the ſame, and demand, or exact, if neceſſary, the ſatisfaction which the caſe may require; but that it is to be underſtood in reſpect of weavers, pykars, and all others who receive advances of money for goods to be provided, or are indebted for goods bought, the gomaſtahs ſhall retain their power as uſual, to call ſuch perſons to account. That, on the other hand, where the government's people ſhall have reaſon to complain againſt Engliſh gomaſtahs or agents, they ſhall give the ſaid agent or gomaſtah notice of the complaint in writing, requiring and recommending to him to ſettle it in an amicable and equitable manner; and in caſe the agent or gomaſtah refuſes, or neglects, to ſettle it in ſuch manner, as ſhall appear reaſonable to the govern-

ment's officer, he ſhall then tranſmit an account of it to the chief of the neareſt Engliſh factory, and deliver a copy of the ſaid account to the gomaſtah. And the chief of the factory is hereby required to examine ſtrictly into the affair, and decide it according to juſtice, giving a copy of his determination to the officer of the government, who made the complaint. That the gentlemen of the ſubordinates ſhall keep a regiſter of ſuch complaints, with the deciſions paſt on them, a copy whereof ſhall be forwarded monthly to the Preſidency.

SECONDLY, With reſpect to the diſtant places where trade is carried on, ſuch as Rungpoor, Poornea, Gwalparah and Rangamettee, there is at preſent no reſident on the part of the Company; but at Rungpoor, a proviſion of ſilk is made by a gomaſtah, from Coſſimbuzar factory, which proviſion, it is hoped, may be increaſed and improved, by the care of a covenanted ſervant. At the ſame time, the ſituation of the place is ſuch, as will be convenient for examin-

ing the complaints, and deciding the diſputes which may ariſe in moſt of thoſe places.

AGREED, therefore, that the addition of a ſenior ſervant be made to the Council at Coſſimbuzar, and that he be appointed reſident at Rungpoor.

THAT the orders forbidding our ſervants or dependents, from holding lands, gunges, rents or employments of any kind, under the country government, ſhall be again repeated.

THAT ſuch, however, as have inherited taalooks from purchaſe, or other good right, ſhall not be obliged to give them up, but hold them as other taalookdars in the country, being informed once for all, that in reſpect to ſuch rents held from the government, they are not to avail themſelves of our protection to inveſt them with any particular privileges.

THAT ſuch complaints as have already been made, and tranſmitted to the ſeveral ſubordinates, ſhall be inquired into, and decided conformably to the above regulation; and that ſuch as have not

not yet, ſhall now be forwarded to the proper ſubordinates for that purpoſe."

THIS regulation might anſwer very well, if all chiefs and reſidents of the Engliſh were diſintereſted men, would receive complaints againſt their own gomaſtahs with temper, and decide them with juſtice and equity, even if their own profits were to be leſſened by it. But a ſucceſſion of ſuch men is not to be expected in any ſervice; and there is beſides another difficulty, proceeding from the diſtance of the places, where ſome of theſe gomaſtahs are employed, from any of the Company's factories; ſo that in many caſes it would be impoſſible to get at the truth; and it is eaſy to conceive the diſorder which muſt take place in any community, where there exiſts no power of determining on the ſpot the diſputes which may ariſe.

I IMAGINED the Nabob would be much alarmed, by the aſſembly of the members of the Council from the ſubordinate factories, and the reports which

would reach him from Calcutta, of their being determined to break with him. We heard now of his being on his return from his expedition to Beteea and Napaul; and I concluded, that the being nearer at hand to ſettle the conteſted points, was the chief reaſon for his quick return, although it was reported, he had been defeated on the borders of Napaul. His apprehenſions of the deſigns of the Council againſt him, cannot be ſtronger expreſſed than in his own letters.

THE following are copies of his letters of the 22d and 26th of February.

The Nabob's *Letter of the* 22*d of* February.

"WHEN you came here an agreement in writing was made between us, which I imagined all the gentlemen would conſent to; but it is amazing, that not a ſingle perſon has approved of it.

NOTWITHSTANDING all you have expreſsly directed to the chiefs of the Patna and Dacca factories, they do not pay any

regard

regard to it; but return for anſwer, "We do not approve of the Governor's "proceedings; when the gentlemen of "the Council write to us, we will im-"mediately follow their directions."

SINCE the commencement of Meer Mahomed Jaffier Cawn's management to the preſent time, I have not known any one but yourſelf. Now the gentlemen of all the factories do not regard your directions, but require the orders of the Council, and they ruin the affairs both of this province and Bengal, the zemindarrees, the merchandize, the reiats, &c. for what reaſon I cannot conceive. I neither have, nor ſhall negotiate with any perſon but yourſelf; and therefore I plainly write, that if you intend to regard the agreement made between us, you ſhould act in ſuch a manner, that the gentlemen may not make their objections to it; if not, adviſe me of it. I underſtand, that a number of the gentlemen are inclined to eſtabliſh another Subahdar. This appears to me a trivial matter. Let them eſtabliſh

whom they pleaſe, it is of no conſequence to me. I do not regard matters of ſo ſmall importance. God made the world, and every thing is ruled by him. I beg you will ſpeedily write me an anſwer to this letter. Herewith I ſend you copies of a letter to Rajah Nobit Roy from Mr. Ellis, and one from Jeſſarut Cawn to me. I gave you lands to the amount of fifty lacks of rupees, for the maintenance of troops to deſtroy my enemies; but it is amazing, that a number of gentlemen have, on the contrary, collected troops againſt me, in order to ruin my country. It is the univerſal perſuaſion, that the Europeans are to be confided in; but to ſee all this ſurprizes me much."

Copy of a Letter from the Nabob *to the Governor, dated* February 26, 1763.

"YOUR favour is arrived, and has given me much ſatisfaction. You write, that "at this time you are informed, by a letter from the chief of "Patna factory, that as the Company's

"ſalt-

" ſalt-petre was coming from about " Gauzypoor laden on bullocks; the au- " mil, at a place called Manjee, took " off the ſalt-petre from the bullocks, " and drove away the bullocks, and the " ſalt-petre is lying at the aforeſaid place. " Alſo that one boat of the Company's " laden with ſalt-petre, the officer at a " place called Seeſan has ſeized, unladen " the ſalt-petre, nor will let it paſs. A- " gain, that four boats laden with bee- " tle-nut, which were proceeding in " the way, purſuant to a duſtuck from " the chief of Dacca factory, the fou- " gedar of Rajemahl has detained, want- " ing to collect a duty. If I have any de- " ſire to remove all ſuſpicion from your " breaſt, I muſt puniſh my officers one " and all; that agreeably to the letter " which you have written and given to " me, the affairs of my government, " and the Company's trade, ſhould go " on in a courſe leſs interrupted than " heretofore; and no ſingle article of " goods that has the Company's duſtuck " with it ſhould be impeded; nor ſhould

" there

"there be in any place the leaſt obſtacle
"to your buying and ſelling the coun-
"try commodities; but upon ſalt, to-
"bacco, beetle-nut, and dried fiſh, I
"ſhould take nine *per cent.* upon the
"coſt, and give my own duſtuck; but
"that the officers of my government
"feign orders of themſelves, and report
"abroad, that the Engliſh gomaſtahs
"are not to be allowed in the country,
"nor any one buy or ſell, or do any
"manner of buſineſs with them. That
"by theſe proceedings, the agreement
"concluded between you and me is to-
"tally broken, and there will be ano-
"ther treaty made, in which it will be
"particularly expreſſed how my officers
"are to act, and how the Engliſh go-
"maſtahs; and ſince letters from me
"to you, and you to me, with their
"anſwers, are not leſs than a month in
"coming, and you cannot allow that
"the Company's buſineſs, and that of
"the Engliſh gentlemen, ſhould remain
"in ſuſpence for my order; that there-
"fore I muſt write to Meer Syed Ma-

lls "homed

"homed Cawn at Moorſhedabad, and "to Mahomed Allee Beg at Dacca, that "as a new treaty is intended to be made "and ratified by both parties; until it "is concluded and ſent to them, they "muſt caufe the buſineſs of the Com-"pany, and private gentlemen, to go "on in the manner it formerly was con-"ducted; and that if my officers in the "provinces act contrary thereto, you "will ſend the Company's forces to "clear your buſineſs."

SIR, although with reſpect to the cattle for carrying your petre, I know there has been no obſtruction at all; yet I have ſent orders every where, to examine into the affair of the bullocks laden with petre, and alſo the boats. Hereafter I will write you the particulars, and ſend them. And with regard to the boats laden with beetle-nut, on which, you write Cootub Aalum demands duties. Sir, before the arrival of your friendly letter, Cootub Aalum had repreſented in an arzee to me, that there were ſome boats, of which you had releaſed before his face

all

all but four, which remained, and which, becauſe of a forged duſtuck, you left in charge with him, and proceeded on your way. Herewith I incloſe the arzee for your peruſal.

SINCE you were pleaſed to obſerve, in the agreement before alluded to, that my duſtuck was to be along with the purchaſe, and ſale of beetle-nut, and other articles of inland trade; beyond all doubt Cootub Aalum, without being ſhewn my duſtuck, would not let the boats paſs, in which caſe my officer does not appear to have committed any fault. Be you the judge in this affair.

As to what you write of the diſturbances of my officers, it appears from thence, that the agreement made between us the Council has not aſſented to; to be ſure, whatever your gomaſtahs write, is all exactly juſt and proper, and my people tell nothing but lies and barefaced falſities. I muſt have all loſſes in your trade made good to you; but who will indemnify me for the loſs of revenues, juſtly due to my government?

I MUST

I MUST cut off my officers heads; but your gomaſtahs, who are guilty of oppreſſions, receive encouragement from you. You know very well, Sir, that I never deſired ſuch a treaty, it was merely in compliance with your pleaſure, that I aſſented to it. Now that the Council do not agree to it, and want to make another treaty, this is unreaſonable. Three demands which I formerly made to you, I now again repeat. The firſt is this; from the beginning until now, the Nazim of Bengal correſponded with the Governor of Calcutta, as I have and do with you, having no correſpondence with the reſt of the Board.

THE ſecond is, I have before remarked to you, that the Company's trade has been eſtabliſhed from time immemorial; but, at preſent, beſides the Company's trade, the gomaſtahs of the Engliſh gentlemen have ſet up the trade of ſalt, tobacco, dried fiſh, timbers, &c. and purchaſe from the country people by force and extortion, and are continually making unjuſt diſputes and wrangling with my

my officers, ſo that the poor, the inhabitants, the merchants, and manufacturers of my country are oppreſſed, and both you and myſelf are troubled with unjuſt vexations. Now I ſay, that your gomaſtahs are to trade as heretofore, in merchandize imported and exported; and are to refrain from thoſe articles of trade, which interfere with the revenues due to my government, and are a cauſe of diſputes, and the ruin of the inhabitants and poor people.

THE third is, whether your will is, that I ſhall have the charge of the expences of the army, and management of the country, and his Majeſty's revenues; and that your gomaſtahs ſhall carry on thoſe branches of trade, which were never allowed in the country, oppreſs the country, by interfering in the government, under pretence of trade, and that my officers ſhall not have their due authority, nor offer to oppoſe them. If this be the caſe, it is out of my power to carry on the buſineſs of this ſubahdarree. I wiſh not to be concerned in

a charge

a charge of ſo much vexation; you may be pleaſed to find out ſome other that will undertake it. For my part, I am heartily tired with theſe diſputes and wranglings. Why do you take the trouble to ſend forces againſt my officers? Why do not you write to them to quit their ſtations, and repair to me, for they have no forces to oppoſe you? You are ſenſible, that in Chittagong, Midnapoor, and Burdwan, which, agreeable to treaty, I ceded to the Company; not a man of mine ever enters, and I refrain even from providing the cuſtomary cloths for my own uſe. If you do not determine juſtly for me, it is a matter of great ſurprize."

Copy of a Letter from the Nabob *to the Governor. Dated* February 26, 1763.

"YOUR letter is arrived, and has much rejoiced me. You write, that, "by a copy of the letter which "Mahomed Allee Beg wrote to Meer "Abdulla, the aumil of the perganah "of Sundeep, it appears, Mahomed "Allee

" Allee Beg's intention is, that not a
" ſingle Engliſhman ſhall be ſuffered in
" the country; that, moreover, he has
" occaſioned much loſs to the Compa-
" ny's buſineſs, and therefore the treaty
" made between us is totally broken
" by Mahomed Allee Beg; that I muſt
" bring the aforeſaid perſon to puniſh-
" ment, or you cannot ſit by inactive,
" and let the Company's buſineſs go to
" ruin; alſo, that the Chief of Lucky-
" poor, neither impriſoned my yeſſa-
" wal, nor killed any burcandaſſee,
" nor detained Golam Ahmud; and
" that all which Mahomed Allee Beg
" wrote to me, on that ſubject, is falſe."

SIR, you know very well who the perſon is, that occaſions all the miſchief between us. The puniſhing of Mahomed Allee Beg is a trifle; and God willing, when I arrive in Bengal, if he ſhall have committed any fault, I will chaſtize him.

BUT you have no power to puniſh any perſon that creates miſchief under your adminiſtration;

adminiſtration. Your order is abſolute, with reſpect to my people, but you have not the leaſt command over your own.

IT is highly incumbent on you to call ſuch perſons to an account, or they will occaſion a rupture between you and me. From the beginning, even until now, I have never meddled with a ſingle gomaſtah, or any one of your people; but your chief, who has before confined my officers, now again wants to ſend troops againſt them, and have them brought bound. It is ſurpriſing that you retort this charge upon me.

YOU accuſe me of theſe things, tho' I have no hand in them; but what occaſion is there to alledge the complaints of your gomaſtahs, for a pretence to tell me, that Mahomed Allee Beg, by his oppreſſions, has broken the agreement between us. Sir, expreſſions of this kind, imply ſome other deſign; ſince, I have never ſeen or heard, that any ſervants, by their miſbehavior, ſhould deſtroy a treaty concluded by their ſuperiors. You muſt be ſenſible of this, and why will

you throw the blame upon another? What Jeſſarut Cawn, and Mahomed Allee Beg, formerly wrote on the ſubject of my yeſſawal's confinement, I immediately tranſmitted to you, as they related it, and this you are greatly offended at. But when you, in conſequence of an information from the chief of Luckypoor, inſiſted, that Mahomed Allee Beg had killed your ſeepoys, what better proofs had you of that charge, that you are now ſo much offended at this trivial complaint of theirs? For, at this time alſo, my yeſſawal, who is arrived, and was interrogated before me, makes the following relation, viz. that "when he reached Luckypoor, he ſhewed my duſtuck to Golam Ahmud, that "ſcarce an hour had paſt, when the "chief of Luckypoor factory ſent 200 "men, and ſurrounded him when he "was alone, and unattended, and ill "treating him, carried him off as faſt "as they could, with many acts of vio-"lence; that the chief aforeſaid, and "others of the people employed under

"him,

"him, ſaid, "We made father Al-
"lee Cawn Nabob, and afterwards
"turned him out again; and Coſſim
"Allee alſo, is one of our ſetting up,
"and this duſtuck, which you have
"brought, we will pay no regard to."
"That with ſuch inſults they kept him
"three days in confinement, but the
"hircarra eſcaping, carried this news
"to Jeſſarut Cawn, and Mahomed Al-
"lee Beg; that ſoon after, in conſe-
"quence of a letter from the Governor
"of Calcutta, to the chief there, he
"was ſent with Golam Ahmud to me.

AT the time the chief aforeſaid had confined my yeſſawal, with all this ignominy and ill treatment, how did Mahomed Allee Beg know that he would releaſe him after three days, and ſend him to me? Had not your letter arrived, he never would have releaſed my yeſſawal. It was in conſequence of the account of the hircarra, that Jeſſarut Cawn, and Mahomed Allee Beg, wrote me the particulars of my yeſſawal's confinement. As you are a wiſe man, weigh well the

behavior of the Engliſh and my officers, and judge which ſide is injured, and who are the perſons that act contrary to our agreement, and ſecretly ſpread infamous and injurious reports to the prejudice of men of character.

To conclude, how many fleets of boats are there at Patna! Yet cannot I get ſo much as a ſingle boat to croſs the Ganges; and the very boats that I had procured, the people of your factory there have forcibly taken from me."

THE Nabob's letters of the 26th of February having been read in Council the 7th of March, it was reſolved, that the following anſwer ſhould be wrote him by me as Preſident.

The Governor's Letter to the Nabob.

"I HAVE received your letters of the 26th of February, which having read to the gentlemen of Council, they agree with me in opinion, that there appears throughout a general diſinclination to give us any ſatisfaction for the interruptions

ruptions and ill uſage which the buſineſs of the Engliſh Company and gentlemen has received from Mahomed Allee, and other officers of your government; and that both your letters ſeem on the whole rather an evaſion, than an anſwer to my repreſentations. I am therefore now, in my own name, and in the name of the gentlemen of Council, to give you the following account of what has been hitherto reſolved on by us. The Firmaun, and other public orders of the Court, together with the ſubſequent treaties with the Nabobs, having been referred to, and ſtrictly examined, we find that the Engliſh, having the Company's duſtuck, are thereby entitled to carry on their trade, as well foreign as inland, in the provinces of Bengal, Bahar, and Oriſſa, duty free. By the tenor of them therefore the Council are determined to abide. We have however taken information of the cuſtom that has hitherto prevailed in the different parts of the country, with reſpect to the Engliſh paying a duty on certain articles of inland trade, and from

theſe we learn, that the articles of ſalt and tobacco are the only ones which have paid ſuch duty; and that the latter article has paid it only at the factories of Luckypoor and Dacca. This being the caſe, and as we do not mean to break entirely through this eſtabliſhed cuſtom, although the aforementioned grants give us a full ſanction to trade duty free, we have determined, that a conſideration ſhall continue to be paid to your government on ſalt, after the rate of two and half *per cent.* as will be explained to you by Mr. Amyatt *, and the method of collecting it ſettled by him. With reſpect to our gomaſtahs, we cannot admit, that they ſhall be under any actual controul of the officers of your government; but we have laid down certain regulations, whereby to reſtrain them from committing injuries, or abuſes on the country people, as well as to direct them to make their complaint to the chief of the factory, in caſe of receiving any from your

* Who was at the ſame conſultation appointed to carry the reſolutions of the Board to the Nabob.

your officers or dependents, and the ſaid chief will take the neceſſary meaſures for putting a ſtop to them.

COPIES of the Firmaun, hufbul-hookums and treaties, together with the rules for collecting the aforeſaid duty on ſalt, and guiding the conduct of our gomaſtahs and your officers, will be ſent to you by Mr. Amyatt and Mr. Hay, whom myſelf, with the Council, have thought proper to depute, to explain to you more fully the juſtice of thoſe rights and pretenſions.

WITH reſpect to the complaints which have already been made, we do inſiſt on juſtice againſt all thoſe officers of the government, who may be proved guilty of the extortions and obſtructions laid to their charge; and that reparation ſhall be made for the loſſes occaſioned thereby.

ON the other hand, all the complaints made by your officers in different parts of the country againſt Engliſh agents or gomaſtahs, have been referred to the examination of the gentlemen of the factories, neareſt to thoſe places from whence

the complaints have come; and whatever injuſtice it may appear they have committed, we ſhall be particularly careful to cauſe them to make amends for."

THIS letter, as I have before obſerved, was to be wrote him by me as Preſident, which was the uſual form of the country correſpondence; but Mr. Johnſtone, for fear the Nabob might not yet be ſufficiently convinced of the authority of the Council, moved, that a letter ſhould be wrote him by the whole Board, to inform him, that all power belonged to them. This motion was overruled by the majority, who thought it ſufficient, that an addition ſhould be made to the foregoing letter upon that ſubject. The following are the proceedings in this debate, and the additional paragraphs which were drawn up in conſequence.

Extract

Extract of Conſultation of March 7, 1763.

Mr. Johnſtone's *Minute.*

"MR. JOHNSTONE moves, that a letter ſhould now be wrote by the Board to the Nabob, in anſwer to the firſt of his three demands, explaining to him the powers of the Council; that it is with them in fact he acts, altho' their opinion is tranſmitted thro' the channel of the Preſident; and that therefore he ſhould conſider them in the firſt degree. Further, that in it the Governor's letter, containing the regulations, ſhould be re-demanded; and that the letters now ſent ſhould be ſigned by the Board, and ſealed with the Company's ſeal.

THE ſecretary being directed to collect the opinions of the Board on this motion of Mr. Johnſtone's, the ſeveral members delivered the ſame as follows.

Mr. Watts's *Opinion.*

MR. WATTS is of opinion, that a paragraph ſhould be inſerted in the letter to be wrote to the Nabob, explaining to him the powers of the Board; and that the letter ſent by Mr. Vanſittart to the

the Nabob, ſhould be demanded back as from the Board; but that the letter now ſent be forwarded under the Preſident's ſeal.

Mr. Marriott's Opinion.

MR. MARRIOTT is of the ſame opinion with Mr. Watts.

Mr. Hay's Opinion.

MR. HAY thinks, that the explanation regarding the powers of the Council, ſhould be made to the Nabob in a public letter, agreeable to Mr. Johnſtone's motion; but that the demand for the letter containing the regulations, ſhould be made in a letter under the Preſident's ſeal.

Mr. Haſtings's Opinion.

THE Company have plainly declared their intention, that all correſpondence with the country powers ſhall be carried on thro' the channel of the Governor; and as an alteration of this cuſtom will ſubject the Nabob (who has not been uſed to ſuch a method, nor can be a judge of the propriety of it) to great perplexities, and tend to create a breach between

us,

us, I object to any letter being wrote to the Nabob, but with the Preſident's ſeal.

As to an explanation of the powers of the Board, the Nabob to my knowledge is well acquainted with them, nor is ſuch an information in any wiſe neceſſary.

IT is alſo unneceſſary to demand back the Governor's letter to the Nabob, as it will of courſe be annulled by the new regulations.

Meſſ. Cartier *and* Billers's *Opinion.*

MESSIEURS Cartier and Billers are of the ſame opinion with Mr. Watts.

Mr. Batſon's *Opinion.*

MR. BATSON agrees with Mr. Johnſtone in opinion, that the authority of the Board ſhould be aſſerted, and the Governor's written agreement be demanded back; and that it is the intereſt of the publick, that the correſpondence ſhould be carried on by the Board.

Major Carnac's *Opinion.*

MAJOR CARNAC is of opinion, that the Nabob either does not, or will not, underſtand the powers of the Board; and

and therefore they ought to be ſo explained to him, as to admit of no diſpute; which cannot be done any way ſo effectually, as by a letter wrote under the publick ſeal, as propoſed by Mr. Johnſtone in his minute; and that in the ſame letter, the Governor's, containing the regulations ſhould be demanded back.

Mr. Amyatt's *Opinion.*

MR. AMYATT is of Mr. Watts's opinion.

Major Adams's *Opinion.*

MAJOR ADAMS is of opinion, that the Nabob's letters ſhould be anſwered, by the Preſident, in the name of the Board, under his own ſeal, which with the purport of the letter, will ſufficiently convince the Nabob, that the power is lodged in the majority of the Council; and he thinks the re-demanding the letter, will more properly become a part of the inſtructions to Meſ. Amyatt and Hay.

The Preſident's *Opinion.*

THE Preſident obſerves, that he had already explained to the Nabob, more than

than once, the powers of the Board, when he wrote the letter in queſtion; but that as the Nabob now affects to be inſenſible of the powers of the Board, and inſtead of complying with his agreement, endeavors to make the worſt uſe poſſible of the letter, he thinks he ſhould be wrote to in the terms propoſed by Mr. Johnſtone; but that it ſhould be wrote, in the uſual manner, through the channel of the Preſident, as any other method is contrary to the Company's ſtanding orders, as well as detrimental to their affairs.

THE majority of the Board being of Mr. Watts's opinion;

ORDERED, that two additional paragraphs, expreſſing the ſenſe thereof, be added to the letter, which is above-directed to be wrote to the Nabob by the Preſident; that the whole letter be drawn up by the ſecretary, from the reſolutions of Council; and when approved by the members, be ſent to the tranſlator, with directions to render it into Perſian, applying to the Preſident for the moonſhee, who

who usually writes the letters for that purpose."

Copy of the additional Paragraph to the Letter to the Nabob.

"YOU mention in your letter, that it has been customary for the Subahs of these provinces, to negotiate only with the Governor; and that you also have done heretofore, according to that custom, and that you will not negotiate with any of the gentlemen of Council. In answer to which, I must acquaint you, that although it is very true, negotiations with the Subahs are carried on by the Governor only, yet that, and all other business, depends upon the opinion and determination of the Governor and Council together; and, in this manner, affairs being considered and resolved on, the Governor is only the channel through which it is made known to the Subahs, of which also you cannot but be sensible, as I have often acquainted you with it before. It is very true,

true, that the regulations of trade, agreed on between you and me, are not approved of by the Council, and therefore cannot take place; and further, the ill behavior, and violent oppreſſions, committed by your officers in all parts, by an abuſe of the authority granted them by that agreement, are ſo notorious and inſupportable, that if they are not put an immediate ſtop to, the friendſhip between us will be broken; and, as it is to be feared, they will continue to act in the ſame manner, until they are acquainted from you, that the intended agreement is annulled; I deſire you will ſend back that letter to me, and acquaint your officers, in all parts, that you have ſo returned it."

THE obvious tendency of this motion points out, but too plainly, the factious ſpirit which dictated it. Since nothing could have ſo effectually convinced the Nabob, of the weakneſs of our government, and the power of his enemies; beſides, that by claiming his acknowledgment

ledgment of an authority, to which he had never hitherto been accuſtomed; and by throwing the correſpondence into a new channel, which he knew to be contrary to the rules of our government, a ſnare was laid to aggravate the diſputes, by his diſowning that authority, or by the perplexity which it muſt of courſe lead him into, was he even inclined to comply with it.

THE diſputes were now riſen to ſuch an height, that it became neceſſary, either to put an end to them, by a peaceable negotiation, or declare an open war againſt the Nabob. The former expedient was preferred; and it was agreed, that one of the members of the Board, ſhould go on a deputation to the Nabob, and treat with him upon the terms of our future alliance. Mr. Amyatt offered himſelf for this ſervice, which was unanimouſly accepted; and, at his own requeſt, Mr. Hay was afterwards joined with him, in the ſame commiſſion, which was to take place as ſoon as the Nabob,

who

who was immediately acquainted with it, would ſignify his approbation of it.

ABOUT this time, we received a letter from the Chief and Council at Patna, adviſing us, that the Nabob was returned from his Napaul expedition, in which he had been defeated; and that he had croſſed the river, and lay encamped at Jaffier Cawn's garden, about two miles from the city.

IT was now reſolved, that a letter ſhould be wrote to the Nabob, inſiſting on a poſitive anſwer, to the demands made by the Board, for his annulling the orders, which he had given to his officers. In the mean time, thoſe orders ſubſiſting, and the unlimited powers, given to the ſubordinate factories, were productive of daily diſturbances, the natural conſequences of jealouſies, inflamed to the higheſt pitch on both ſides. From Dacca advices arrived, of a fray between the officers of the government, and a party of ſeepoys diſpatched to releaſe ſome boats that had been ſtopped at Jaffier Gunge, in which, the brother

of the chokeydar was ſlain, or dangerouſly wounded; and, on the ſame day, a letter from the gentlemen of Patna, informed us of their having ſent an officer, with three companies of ſeepoys, to Mow, to free the buſineſs of the factory, which had received ſome interruption at that place, and to ſeize the perſons concerned in it. This the officer effected, taking Akbur Allee Cawn, the Nabob's collector, priſoner, whom he carried to Patna, and left a guard of twelve ſeepoys at Taajepoor, to take care of the Company's ſalt-petre. The Nabob, incenſed at this outrage, committed almoſt before his eyes, in the firſt impulſe of his paſſion, ſent out a party of 500 horſe to intercept the ſeepoys, and releaſe his officer; but arriving too late for this ſervice, they marched againſt the ſmall detachment at Taajepoor, and attacked it. The ſeepoys defended themſelves with great bravery, but four of the number being killed, the reſt ſubmitted, and were carried, with the Company's gomaſtah, priſoners before the

Nabob,

Nabob, who contented himſelf with reprimanding the gomaſtah, for being the inſtrument of ſuch an inſult on his dignity, and diſmiſſed them.

THE Nabob's behavior, upon this occaſion, ſhews how much he was irritated by it; and, at the ſame time, how careful he was, even upon the greateſt provocation, to avoid coming to extremities. The hircarras, or other buſy people, about the factory, took occaſion, upon this event, to carry news to Mr. Ellis, that the Nabob was reſolved to march back immediately from Ponarac, where he then lay encamped, and attack the factory. Mr. Ellis, whoſe animoſity againſt the Nabob, and wiſhes for a rupture, made him give eaſy credit to every ſuch report, ſpread their intelligence without delay; we were informed of it by the Chief and Council at Patna, in their letter of the 15th, and of their own reſolution in that caſe, to poſſeſs themſelves of the city. This I now daily expected to hear of, for I but too plainly ſaw, that Mr. Ellis ſought only

a pretence to commence open hoſtilities; but the preſent occaſion was happily removed by the Nabob's prudence, in proceeding directly to Mongheer, where he arrived ſoon after.

THE letters from Mr. Ellis and the Council of Patna, and thoſe from the Nabob, upon the above tranſactions, tho' little differing in the relation of the plain matters of fact, I ſhall notwithſtanding inſert, as they contain the moſt evident marks of the diſpoſition of each at this time.

Copy of a Letter from the Chief and Council at Patna *to the Governor and Council. Dated* March 6, 1763.

"WE now encloſe you tranſlate of a letter from the Company's gomaſtah at Mow, which will give you a pretty juſt idea of what lengths the Nabob intended proceeding to, and how greatly he would have diſtreſſed our affairs, had he not been timely checked.

EARLY this morning we detached three companies of ſeepoys to Mow, under the

the command of lieutenant Downie, with orders to clear the Company's buſineſs in that diſtrict, and ſeize all thoſe who have interrupted it, agreeable to your directions. We beg your further orders with regard to puniſhing them, and cannot help obſerving, how neceſſary it is that ſome examples ſhould be made, in order to put an effectual ſtop to this growing evil.

THE Nabob marched two days ago from Jaffier Cawn's garden, and is now encamped near Futtuah."

Copy of a Letter from the Nabob *to the Governor. Dated* March 5, 1763.

"I HAVE had the pleaſure duly to receive three of your favors, dated the 7th and 8th of Shaaban, and underſtand the particulars mentioned in them.

AT a time when this government was loaded with a balance of revenues due to the King, the arrears of the troops, and debts owing to the Engliſh, I marched out of Bengal, and repaired to the extremity of the province of Bahar, in or-

der to ſettle theſe matters. That country being thus left without a ruler, every village and diſtrict became ruined by the oppreſſions of the Engliſh agents and gomaſtahs, an entire ſtop was put to collecting the revenues, and the merchants, and the poor, and all my officers, and muttaſeddees of the public and private receipts of cuſtom, were diſtreſſed, and deprived of their daily bread; and I am a ſufferer in the revenues due to my adminiſtration, by near a krore of rupees. I have in the mean while made continual complaints and repreſentations of this injuſtice, and informed you particularly and circumſtantially of all matters: nevertheleſs you have been pleaſed to obſerve, that my officers are to blame.

WHEN you favoured me with a viſit at Mongheer, I laid before you all my concerns. You were very earneſt in ſettling all diſputes between my goverment, and the Engliſh Company and gentlemen, and their gomaſtahs: and you in ſome meaſure comforted me, and perſuaded me, that "from that time buſineſs would "be

" be carried on in a proper manner, and my " government neither injured, oppreſſed, " or damaged." Afterwards, on your return to Calcutta, contrary to your agreement with me, you detached forces, to carry on the buſineſs of the Company and Engliſh gentlemen by compulſion, and to beat and chaſtiſe my officers if they offered to ſpeak a word. For theſe three years I have not got a ſingle rupee, nor a thouſand rupees; nor one piece, nor ten pieces of cloth; nor a bundle of broad cloth, nor ten bundles; nor a pair of ſciſſars, nor ſo much as a claſp knife, from the Engliſh gentlemen, or their gomaſtahs; at the ſame time, they have by violence levied fines and penalties, and ſums for loſſes in their trade, on my officers, and ſtill continue to levy them; and if any of my officers refuſes to ſubmit to this, they pour a ſtorm of complaints on his head.

LATELY you have repeatedly ordered me, " to let the buſineſs of the Com- " pany, and the Engliſh gentlemen, and " their gomaſtahs, go on as was cuſto- " mary heretofore in the different parts " of the provinces of Bengal and Bahar;

"to ſuffer the money and bullion of "your factories to be coined into ſiccas "in my mints; and to have the wicket "and intrenchment in the city of Patna "opened." I not having it in my power to refuſe, have given you the free uſe of my mint, and directed the wicket to be opened, and a ſtop to be put to collecting cuſtoms upon traffick in the commodities of my country, from all merchants, pykars, and dilolls, in the provinces of Bahar and Bengal; and I have had all gauts and chokeys, both in the city and country round about, entirely removed.

ALL theſe my loſſes, are owing entirely to the favor and indulgence of the Council; becauſe that my being like the Nabob Meer Jaffier indebted to his Majeſty, and embarraſſed by my troops, and reduced to his ſituation, is what they approve of. However, I can never approve of my people and merchants being diſtreſſed, my country oppreſſed, myſelf deſpiſed, and ſubjected to daily inſults, and my officers and ſervants ill treated. I have therefore choſen to give up all

thoſe

thoſe points to you. Now I am in expectation of your anſwer, to inform me if my life is ſafe; or if there is any thing elſe to be done?"

From the Nabob *to the Governor, dated* March 5, 1763.

"YOUR friendly letter, dated the 8th of Shaaban, is arrived, and I am happy with the news of your welfare.

You write, that the opinion of the Council is as follows. "They are all very deſirous of aſſiſting and ſupporting "me in my government, but cannot "bear with patience, that my officers "ſhould impede or damage their commerce; that the report of your ſetting "up another Nabob is the weak inſinuation of deſigning men; that the reſolution of the Board is, to make ſuch "an agreement in purſuance of the royal "Firmaun, and the rules of equity, as "may leave no room for diſpute in future, between my officers and their "gomaſtahs." How can I bring myſelf firmly to credit this, ſince Mr. Ellis is

is one of the Council, who, for theſe two years paſt, has been endeavoring all in his power to hurt my affairs, and make me appear little in the eyes of the world; nay, is at this time taking pains daily to involve me in trouble, parading his companies of ſeepoys to provoke me; and omitting no opportunity of depreciating me both in this my own country, and to Shuja-ul Dowla, and other great men at court, ſending all whatever he can deviſe to my diſcredit, by means of Shitabroy to Shuja-ul Dowla, &c. and ſaying alſo whatever comes uppermoſt in his mind to my prejudice in public aſſemblies?

In regard to what you write concerning the royal Firmaun, and your having in view the preparation of another treaty; when you favored me with your company at Mongheer, I told your frequently, that "the power of your people was "great, but I had little to oppoſe it. I "deſired you to conſider, nor entertain "the notion, that any agreement would "be binding with people accuſtomed to "acts of oppreſſion." Is not this an inſtance

ſtance of oppreſſion, that the ſalt-petre farms, which I have allowed unto you gentlemen, upon the produce of which you uſed to pay formerly three, and three and half rupees *per* maund, you now forcibly hold at one and three-fourth of a rupee, plundering and injuring my people? In this manner my country is to go to ruin, and I may not utter a word. Beſides all this, you write, that it is my own officers who create theſe diſturbances, exerciſe oppreſſion, and injure the ſalt-petre farm. This being the caſe, how can any treaty ſtand good between us? And how can it take effect, if ſuch oppreſſion continues? Beſides, as you have diſpatched the Company's troops to chaſtiſe my officers, if they but murmur at theſe evils, why need you trouble yourſelves to make any other treaty? In my ſervice, there is not one who can prejudice me againſt you in any affair. Under you there is Mr. Ellis, who fails not to prejudice you with evil inſinuations againſt me, as you muſt ſee and be ſenſible, tho' you connive at it, and ſay nothing on

the

the ſubject; but you are pleaſed to think (I do not know upon what grounds) that I have evil-minded people in my ſervice.

I AM at loſs how to act under theſe cenſures, and muſt own myſelf inſufficient, if regulations of this nature take place. Be pleaſed, therefore, to ſet me free from the uneaſineſſes of ſuch an adminiſtration; and ſet up a perſon for conducting it, whom the Council may better approve.

FULL well I know, that they will both condemn me, and injure your good name, and bring this about at laſt. Why do they wait for a charge againſt me? It is not the part of honeſt men, to bring an unjuſt charge againſt any one, with a view to compaſs other deſigns; it is better that you do it at this time."

Copy of a Letter from the Chief and Council at Patna, *to the Governor and Council. Dated* March 12, 1763.

"THE following is an extract of a letter, from lieutenant Downie to the Chief, received laſt night. "I

"have

"have the pleaſure to acquaint you, that "I have juſt now ſeized Meer Acbur "Allee, whom I ſhall ſend to you; I "have likewiſe taken poſſeſſion of the "ſalt-petre he ſeized from the Compa-"ny, and that which he collected from "his perganah, and ſhall have it carri-"ed to Mow as ſoon as poſſible. I will "now proceed to Durbunghy, to catch "the other oppoſer of the Company's "trade."

MEER ACBUR ALLEE arrived here about noon, under the charge of a ſubahdar, and 50 ſeepoys; we have called him before us, and the excuſe he makes for his violent proceedings, is, that he was ſetting up to act as the Company's gomaſtah. We again repeat our requeſt, that you will favor us with your orders, what we are to do with this man, or any other, who may act in the like manner."

Copy of a Letter from the Chief and Council at Patna *to the Governor and Council. Dated* March 15, 1763.

"WE acquainted you the 12th, that lieutenant Downie had made

made Meer Acbur Allee a priſoner, and taken poſſeſſion of the Company's petre at Taajepoor, where he left it in charge of a havaldar, a naick, and twelve ſeepoys, till it ſhould be removed to the factory at Mow. This party was attacked by a body of 500 horſe, ſent for that purpoſe from the Nabob's camp, by whom four of them have been killed, three wounded, and the remainder, with the Company's gomaſtah, carried priſoners to the Nabob. The Nabob has halted at Ponarac, and we have intelligence, that he propoſes returning here to attack us. Should he carry his threats into execution, we ſhall immediately poſſeſs ourſelves of the city, as the moſt effectual means of rendering his evil deſigns abortive."

Copy of a Letter from the Nabob *to the Governor. Dated* March 11, 1763.

"YOUR two favors are arrived, and have rejoiced me. You write, "that Mr. Middleton, who reſides at "Luckypoor, wrote a letter to you, and

"the

" the reſt of the Council; that you have
" ſent me a tranſlation thereof, with
" copies of the letters which Aca Ma-
" homed Nizam, and Syed Buddul Cawn
" wrote to the ſaid gentleman, and o-
" thers. That Golam Hoſſein is a
" moonſhee of the Company's factory,
" and Mahomed Gazy, collector of the
" Company's taalook, annexed to Lucky-
" poor; that now Mahomed Allee wants
" to plunder the officers aforeſaid, and
" ſeize their perſons; that it has been
" always an eſtabliſhed rule, that the
" ſervants of the Company remain at
" the diſpoſal, and in the poſſeſſion
" of the Company; and Mahomed Al-
" lee Beg wants to break through it;
" that the ſaid taalook has been in the
" poſſeſſion of the Company, from the
" time of Meer Mahomed Jaffier Cawn.
" Moreover, that Cootub Aalum, my
" officer at Rajemahl, wrote a letter to
" Mr. George Gray, a copy of which
" you have alſo ſent; that he, in like
" manner, wants to ſeize upon the Com-
" pany's taalook, and to remove the ba-

" zar

" zar of the factory; that you have " ſent me a copy of the letter you wrote " to him; that you are deſirous of a ſtop " being put to theſe diſputes; and that " the buſineſs of both our governments " may be carried on in a proper man- " ner; but it is daily diſturbed by the " villainous proceedings of my officers, " particularly Mahomed Allee Beg; " further, that Syed Jelaul Bocary ſtops " your boats laden with ſalt, and demands " extraordinary duties upon them."

THE tranſlated copies of Mr. Middleton's letters are arrived, and I fully underſtand the purport of them.

SINCE all this wrangling on the part of the gentlemen has ariſen on account of duties, I have, for that reaſon, put a ſtop to the collecting of duties, and cuſtoms, in all diſtricts of the provinces, ſubject to me, as well as to coining of money in all my mints; I have alſo had the wicket in Patna opened, as I before wrote for your information. Now that you are pleaſed to write complaints againſt Mahomed Allee Beg, I have removed him

him from Dacca, and ſent for him hither; ſo you may chuſe whom you will, amongſt the Europeans, to take the management of Dacca. Although Mahomed Allee Beg has neither plundered any one, nor placed guards upon the houſe of one individual; yet to put an end to all the blame which you heap upon me, I have ſent for him hither. But Ellis is he who has twice committed theſe diſturbances, and not long ſince placed a guard upon my own dwelling, I mean the fort of Mongheer; and, at this very time, has detached three companies of ſeepoys, and two pieces of cannon, with intent to ſeize my officers, and has actually ſurrounded the fort of Taajepoor. I know not the reaſon of all theſe inſults from the ſaid Ellis, nor will I put up with ſuch violent proceedings from him, wherefore I have written as much for your information."

Copy of a Letter from the Nabob *to the Governor. Dated* March 14, 1763.

"IT has been owing ſolely to the friendſhip and regard which I bear

to you, that I have hitherto conſtantly born in my mind, the marks of your favor; and, for the friendſhip and kindneſs which you have ſhewn to me, I have put up with every thing until now, that my patience is quite exhauſted. Whatever is to be done, do you, Sir, do it yourſelf; why ſhould you cauſe my authority to be inſulted, and my honor injured, by your ſervants, and people of low character? One man may eaſily continue in friendſhip to one man; but to be dependent upon ten people, is beyond the power of man.

I HAVE, in no wiſe, been deficient in the obſervance of the treaties which you made with me, but, from the beginning, have ſcrupulouſly complied with all my agreements.

AT this time, that you have been pleaſed to write to me to keep open the wicket, and entrenchment in the city of Patna, and for trade to go on as uſual, I paid all due reſpect to your letter, and immediately complied with its contents. I had ſent for Mahomed Allee

Beg

Beg from Dacca, and I was on my way from Patna towards Rajemahl, and had reached Barr, when Mr. Ellis ſent three companies of ſeepoys, with two guns, in order to ſurround my fortreſs of Taajepoor, beſides other companies towards Durbunga, Mow, Teegra, Sircar Sarun, Tekarry, and other diſtricts in different parts of the province, by which my affairs have been ſo much hurt, that an entire ſtop is put to the collection of my revenues.

I KNEW not in what light to conſider all theſe diſturbances, plunderings and ravages; ſo, upon information of this news, I diſpatched Mahomed Ameen Cawn, one of my jemmatdars, towards Taajepoor, that he might enquire particularly, and bring me intelligence of the cauſe of ſo much diſorder. He had not reached the place, before the companies above-mentioned had taken hold of Acbur Allee, Naib of Sheer Zaman, my aumil at Taajepoor, and carried him away to Patna. My jemmatdar wrote me theſe particulars; in anſwer to

which, I ſent him orders to bring your gomaſtah, reſiding at the factory of Taajepoor to me, that I might enquire of him, why my aumil had been ſeized and carcarried away.

WHEN Mahomed Ameen Cawn drew nigh to the factory, your ſeepoys there, by order of the gomaſtah, fired upon him without challenging him. My jemmatdar, having no other reſource, made uſe of the force that he had, ſeized your gomaſtah, and brought him to me. I examined into this affair in the beſt manner, and then diſmiſſed your gomaſtah. I found from him, that my aumil was by no means in fault; but Ellis, having fixed the blame of all theſe tumults and diſorders upon my aumils, under pretence of the ſalt-petre, merely from his own hatred to me, and violence of temper, has created theſe diſturbances, and perſeveres in them. You wrote me heretofore, that by keeping the wicket in the city of Patna ſhut, a report would in all probability prevail amongſt the people, that the Company and I were

at variance. Ellis for two years paſt has been making all theſe diſturbances, in order to demean me, and injure my affairs. Ought I not to be informed, how I am to conſider theſe proceedings, and what is the reaſon of them? You are my friend, bound to free me from all theſe inſults, which I never can bear with. Since the ſaid gentleman has proceeded to acts of violence againſt my officers, ſhould my officers, for the ſake of their characters, ſtand upon the defenſive, you are not to reproach me with it; but if you are inclined to allow of Mr. Ellis's actions, you will do well to give the country to him, that you and I may be freed from the vexations of it; for I am convinced, that the Council will not put an end to theſe diſputes.

I HAVE halted here at Barr two days, on account of this affair; to-morrow I ſhall march towards Mongheer.

Copy of a Letter from the Nabob *to the Governor, Dated* March 15, 1763.

"I HAVE been favored with your letter, together with copies of a per-

wannah to Mahomed Allee Beg, and other papers. You write, "that Mr. Senior paid "the duties upon 4000 maunds of ſalt at the "Shahbunder, took a paſs, and diſpatched "his ſalt; but Syed Jelaul Bocary ſtop-"ped it, and required a further duty up-"on it. That at Rungpoor, a duty is de-"manded upon all kinds of goods; upon "which account, the buſineſs of the "Engliſh gentlemen, and their gomaſ-"tahs, is entirely ſtopped. That at "Shewgunge, belonging to Dinagepoor, "Ramnaut, my Naib there, has col-"lected money, under pretence of a tax, "for the ſupport of poor and indigent "people. That Roy Mohunloll, aumil "of Bahar, demands a duty upon opi-"um. That as your gomaſtahs, about "Rangamettee, are diſtreſſed through "a ſcarcity of proviſions, you have ſent "ſome ſeepoys thither, to bring Syed "Jelaul Bocary to you."

FROM the beginning to this time I have looked upon myſelf as obliged to you; and have aſſented to every thing you either ſpoke, wrote, or negotiated with

with me, upon any affair whatever. I have to preſerve the friendſhip between us, put an entire ſtop to the collection of all kinds of duties, and cuſtoms upon merchandize, as well inland as foreign, both from you and the reſt of the Engliſh gentlemen; and all other people both great and ſmall; nay, tho' it was plainly to the detriment of my affairs, yet to avoid all diſputes between your government and mine, I have ſhut up all my mints; and I have likewiſe ſent for Mahomed Allee Beg from Dacca. Now you will pleaſe to conſider if you have ſpoken, or written to me, upon any other matter, that I have not complied with.

NOTWITHSTANDING all this that I have done to preſerve your eſteem, and although you have expreſſed the ſincereſt friendſhip, and regard for me, yet your ſending ſeepoys to ſeize my officers and bring them to you, will convince all mankind, what ſolid foundation the friendſhip and love between us is built upon. Theſe kinds of reports may be

ſuitable to your intentions, but they are by no means agreeable to mine.

I TOLD you face to face, and have written again and again to you, that on account of the difference of diſpoſition, betwixt me and the Engliſh gentlemen; I looked upon myſelf as inſufficient for this employment; accordingly, it were much better, that in the ſame manner as they gave it once to me, they now deliver it over to whomſoever they may think proper.

IT is very far from the character becoming you, to write me letters breathing nothing but friendſhip; and, at the ſame time, to give ear to the unjuſt reports of your own people, and take ſteps towards a rupture.

IF you are willing to ſhew yourſelf a friend, immediately order back Syed Jelaul Bocary, to his own diſtrict; and break not up the foundation of our friendſhip; in doing which, by the by, you are not backward; ſince, I think there is no great favor in ſending your ſeepoys againſt my officers, and in writ-

ing

ing to me on ſuch ſubjects. If you are ſtill reſolved to make uſe of forces, do not write to me, for I will not return you an anſwer upon ſuch matters.

In the Nabob's *own Hand.*

Such diſturbances as the Engliſh have ſet on foot, were never known in any government, till the time of Meer Mahomed Jaffier Cawn; that they ſhould ſend ſeepoys and ſeize the officers of the goverment, and carry them away; at the ſame time, that the Nazim was looking on, without taking notice of it. All my forbearance has been owing entirely to the friendſhip between you and me. If the Engliſh gomaſtahs will carry on their trade, according to the cuſtom practiſed by other merchants, it is well. If not, I have no reſource, but to make uſe, as you do, of expreſſions tending to diſſolve our friendſhip. My reputation and honor are dearer to me than life. If you are inclined to let friendſhip ſubſiſt between us, you ought to lay aſide theſe diſturbances and altercations, which muſt produce a rupture; and if

you are inclined to break with me, let me know it immediately, that I may have nothing further to do with theſe things, for I can bear them no longer."

THE Nabob's letters of the 11th, 14th, and 15th of March, having been read in Council, the 24th, it was reſolved, that the following anſwer ſhould be wrote him by me as Preſident.

Copy of the Letter to the Nabob. *Dated* March 24, 1763.

"I HAVE received your letters of the 11th, 14th, and 15th inſtant. With regard to the interruptions of our trade, and the diſputes which have happened between the dependents of your government and ours; our original orders were to apply to you, and your officers, for redreſs, on any occaſion of complaint on our part; but this was ſo often done without effect, that finding the interruptions and diſturbances daily increaſe, inſomuch that our buſineſs was, in moſt parts, put an entire ſtop to; we had no

remedy

remedy left to make uſe of, but that of force, to free our buſineſs; and therefore, diſagreeable as it was to us, we were obliged to give ſuch orders to all the factories, of which you have been before duly adviſed.

WHAT Mr. Ellis has done in the Patna province, for clearing the Company's buſineſs, was agreeable to the ſaid orders, ſent him by the Board; and I muſt here particularly obſerve, with reſpect to that gentleman's not applying to you for redreſs on any occaſion, that you have abſolutely put it out of his power, by declaring, that you would not anſwer any of his letters, and having really left unanſwered four which he actually wrote you.

I DO not find that you have yet given orders to any of your officers to forbear from obſtructing our buſineſs, as they ſtill continue to do it, to the utmoſt of their power, excepting in thoſe places where our troops are actually ſtationed for its protection; when you have given ſuch orders as ſhall put an end to thoſe

obſtruc-

obſtructions, we, on our part, will not interfere with your officers, or the affairs of your government.

I HAVE wrote you before of our reſolutions and demands, and now I again acquaint you, that we ſhall inſiſt upon a compliance with them in every point. Myſelf, as well as the Council, are heartily reſolved to ſupport you in your government, and all its rights; but if you oppoſe our people in the execution of orders, which we have authorized, and with which you have been acquainted, we ſhall look upon ſuch a conduct as an open declaration of war; but to ſhew you our earneſt deſire to prevent ſuch an event, we continue in our reſolution to ſend to you Mr. Amyatt (who will be accompanied by Mr. Hay) for the purpoſe we have before wrote you, as ſoon as we ſhall receive your anſwer to that letter.

I MUST in this letter take notice of two particular phraſes, that you make uſe of, *ſervants* and *men of low character*. I am very unwilling to ſuppoſe you could, by

by ſuch unbecoming expreſſions, mean the gentlemen of Council; but they with me inſiſt upon an explanation, as we will by no means ſuffer ourſelves to be treated with diſreſpect."

In my letter to the Board from Monghеer, which contained the regulations made with the Nabob, I mentioned a reſolution expreſſed by him, to aboliſh all duties whatever in his dominions, to avoid the daily diſputes between our people and his officers, who collected them. This he now actually put in execution, as appears by ſome of the foregoing letters. It was known at Calcutta by private advices, before the receipt of thoſe letters, and became the ſubject of a freſh diſpute, which was opened by Mr. Johnſtone in conſultation, the 22d of March. As all the arguments on this ſubject are fully ſtated in the minutes entered upon it, by the ſeveral members of the Board, I ſhall only enter thoſe minutes, adding, that it was reſolved upon, by a great majority, that this exemption was a breach

of

of the Company's privileges; and that the Nabob ſhould be poſitively required to recall it; and collect duties as before from the country merchants, and all other perſons who had not the protection of the Company's duſtuck.

Mr. Johnſtone's *Minute.*

"No public advices having been yet received from the Chief and Council at Patna; and the inſtructions for Meſ. Amyatt and Hay being now lying for conſideration; Mr. Johnſtone begs leave to deliver in copies of ſunnuds, iſſued at Patna, &c. by the Nabob, received in private letters, ordering an exemption to all merchants from duties of every kind on their trade for two years. As this proceeding appears deſtructive to the Company's royal privileges and rights, Mr. Johnſtone thinks it merits the conſideration of the Board, to concert meaſures to prevent this injurious attempt of the Nabob, which he conceives beyond his authority as a Subah, raiſed and ſupported by us, without any revocation of our grants, by the King himſelf; and

that

that we neither can, nor ought to admit of it, conſiſtently with the truſt repoſed in us by the Company, while they have placed the means of ſupporting their rights in our hands.

Mr. Watts's *Opinion.*

"MR. WATTS is of opinion, that the Nabob's taking off duties on all goods, muſt be highly detrimental to the Company's trade; that it is a ſtep he, as Subah of Bengal, has no authority to do without permiſſion from the Mogul; and as the Mogul has always deemed the Engliſh, in a much ſuperior light to the Nabob, he thinks it is incumbent on them to inſiſt, that the duties be collected from other merchants as formerly, otherwiſe our privileges, granted to us by the Firmaun, &c. will be entirely overſet."

Mr. Marriott's *Opinion.*

"MR. MARRIOTT thinks, that the Nabob, in iſſuing out the late perwannah to take off duties from all trade, has acted quite contrary to the Company's intereſt; and muſt, if not put a ſtop to, prevent

prevent our procuring the uſual inveſtment, as the goods in conſequence will be dearer, the quantity ſmaller, and the quality much inferior.

THAT this order appears to have been done with a deſign to prejudice the Engliſh affairs in this country as much as poſſible, as the rights and privileges we hold over other European nations; and the natives of this country, are now become void, and what has coſt the Company ſo great an expence of blood and treaſure, is now rendered of no ſignification.

THAT the making our Firmaun privilege of no effect, which he has done by this order, is the ſame as if he had entirely prevented us trading with a Company's duſtuck, and demanded duties as he has lately done.

THAT we ought, at all rates, to inſiſt on his recalling theſe orders, and ſhould he refuſe, look upon it as a downright declaration againſt the Company's intereſt, and act with him as an infringer of our rights."

Mr.

Mr. Hay's *Opinion.*

IT appears to Mr. Hay, that the Nabob's remitting the duties on the whole trade of theſe provinces for two years, is done with no other deſign, than to prejudice the affairs of the Engliſh, and render of as little uſe as poſſible, the privileges they enjoy by the grants they are poſſeſſed of; and that this ſtep has been pointed out to him by the Armenians, or ſome others, whoſe intereſt it is, that the Engliſh ſhould be loaded with that, more than double cuſtom of nine *per cent.* in hopes that the Company, within the ſpace of two years, may, from an apprehenſion of their own trade being hurt, order that this extravagant duty ſhould be paid, or that the inland trade ſhould not be carried on by their ſervants. The Nabob will be no loſer by this meaſure, for he will undoubtedly, at the end of the two years, make the merchants anſwerable to him for the duties on the goods, in which they trade in the interim. This is the beginning of a game that will, no doubt, if a ſtop

is not put to it, be continually played to the diſadvantage of the Engliſh Company. Mr. Hay is therefore of opinion, that it ſhould be made known to the Nabob, that we look on this meaſure as deſigned to prejudice the Company's affairs; and that we will not quietly ſee him proceed in meaſures, that can anſwer no other purpoſe than the overſetting our privileges.

Mr. Johnſtone's *Opinion.*

I ENTIRELY agree with Mr. Hay's opinion. I have heard it urged, that the Nabob is maſter in his territories, and may therefore remit to his ſubjects any advantage accruing to his revenues, by duties collected in the country. To me it appears quite otherwiſe, nor can I conceive that the Nabob, whom we have raiſed to the Subahſhip, and have hitherto ſupported him in it by force of arms, in oppoſition to the King, can ever have thereby acquired a right to undermine, and entirely ruin, the rights and advantages, the Company, at an immenſe expence, obtained by grants from the ſovereign

vereign of the kingdom, or by treaties with the foregoing Subahs; all which this man has bound himſelf to maintain, and confirm to us in their fulleſt extent. Had ſuch an attempt been made by Jaffier Allee Cawn, or Serajah Dowla, to render of no uſe and effect, the ſingular advantage our nation enjoyed, by the privilege of carrying on their trade under the duſtuck; ſurely, every one muſt have conſidered ſuch proceedings as the plaineſt declaration of their enmity, ill-will, and fixed reſolution to ruin our trade, ſuperiority, and influence through the country, by reducing us on a footing with all other European or foreign traders, and even with the very Bengal inhabitants. I imagine, that no power we have been pleaſed to inveſt this Nabob with, can ever authorize him to take ſuch a ſtep, to the prejudice of the Company, or juſtify us to our employers, to permit it to take place. Nothing leſs than an order from the King at Delly, could claim our regard in this point; and even that I believe the Company

would expect we ſhould not comply with, till we had uſed every method in our power, for the preſervation of their rights and immunities. The Nabob, after repeated attempts to burthen us with the exorbitant duty of nine *per cent.* on articles of our exports, as well as inland trade; on finding the Board reſolved to oppoſe it, and ſupport the duſtuck in its full extent, has now recourſe to an exemption from all duties to other merchants, to invalidate our proceedings, in oppoſition to the late regulations; but he may, with as great propriety, in regard to us, inſiſt on the one as the other; and our time and arguments will ſeem to have been employed to very little purpoſe indeed, if we allow him to elude them, and baffle us by ſuch a proceeding. Nor can I imagine the neceſſity of Meſſ. Amyatt and Hay, now proceeding to explain our reſolutions, and the extent of our privileges, while they are thus rendered of no effect; till that demand therefore be revoked, by a previous application of the Board, any deputation

putation to him would appear to me rather hurtful than beneficial.

Mr. Cartier's *Opinion.*

MR. CARTIER eſteems the copy of a ſunnud, from Coſſim Allee Cawn, to the Naib of Patna, directing him to lay open the trade of the country to the natives, &c. for the ſpace of two years, free of all duties and taxes, purpoſely done to render void, and counteract thoſe regulations we have been deliberating upon, for theſe laſt two months, for the better eſtabliſhment of our particular privileges, and to ſet proper boundaries to our own, as well as the Nabob's power. That this grant will very materially affect the Honorable Company's inveſtment in every branch, not only in point of price, but the amount of their order; that the former will be greatly inhanced, as the latter proportionably decreaſed, from the ſwarm of purchaſers this indulgence muſt neceſſarily produce; and that the Honorable Company's particular privileges and grants, derived to them from the authority of the great Mogul,

will be rendered invalid, and of no conſequence by this ſtep; that we are ſtrongly intereſted, from every motive of good and wiſe policy, to prevent the ſame from taking effect, more particularly as its taking place would overſet our influence, and ruin that diſtinguiſhing mark of favor, received from the Court of Delly. That if it be allowed a right inherent in the Nabob, to do as he pleaſes with the revenues of his country, and to ſhew all manner of indulgencies to his ſubjects; it will as naturally follow, that it becomes neceſſary in us, to prevent any innovation in his government, that muſt evidently be attended with bad conſequences to the Honorable Company's affairs; he is therefore of opinion, that all poſſible endeavors ſhould be tried to prevent this ſunnud from taking effect; and that the methods neceſſary to be applied to anſwer this purpoſe, merit the conſideration of the Board.

Mr. Billers's *Opinion.*

MR. BILLERS agrees entirely in opinion with Mr. Marriott.

Mr.

Mr. Batſon's *Opinion.*

THE Nabob's giving up the duties on all trade in the country, is evidently deſigned to undermine and deſtroy the privileges, which the Engliſh enjoy by the King's Firmaun; and Mr. Batſon thinks, that he has been encouraged in this, and ſeveral other ſchemes, prejudicial to the Engliſh, by a faction of Armenians and others, from private and corrupt views, and that therefore we ſhould take the moſt effectual methods to prevent this ſcheme from taking place.

WHAT has been urged by ſome gentlemen, that the Nabob has a right to do what he pleaſes in his own country, would better become his vackeels, than members of this Board.

MR. BATSON thinks we ſhould oppoſe, to the utmoſt, all his attempts againſt the Engliſh intereſts.

Mr. Amyatt's *Opinion.*

MR. AMYATT coincides in opinion with Meſ. Marriott and Hay.

The President's and Mr Hastings's Opinion.

IN our letter to the Board, of the 15th of December, from Mongheer, it is noticed, that the Nabob had declared his reſolution to take off all cuſtoms, and lay trade entirely open, in caſe the diſputes between us, concerning the cuſtoms on the private inland trade, could not be amicably ſettled, and we inſiſted on carrying it on free of duties. The reaſons he gave for this reſolution are there mentioned, viz. "That if we "thought our privileges extended ſo "far, and would carry on our trade in "all articles, free of cuſtoms, of courſe "the country merchants could have lit-"tle ſhare, and the duties proceeding "therefrom would be ſo inconſidera-"ble, that he thought it would be "more for the advantage of his reve-"nues, to encourage the merchants in "general, by an entire abolition of all "cuſtoms, which would remove at "once the principal cauſe of the diſ-"putes between him and us." We added in the ſame letter, that we had diſ-

ſuaded

ſuaded the Nabob from this meaſure, leſt it ſhould prejudice the Company's buſineſs, by enhancing the number of purchaſers, and rendering the duſtuck uſeleſs; and mentioned this as an argument, why we ought to conſent to pay cuſtoms on our private inland trade, not to riſk hurting the Company's intereſt, for our own particular advantage.

IT has however been determined by the majority of the Board, that we ſhall trade in all articles cuſtom-free, as well from place to place in the country, in commodities produced in the country, as in foreign imports and commodities for exportation; which reſolution being declared to the Nabob, he on his part has determined to take off cuſtoms in general, and lay trade entirely open.

WE cannot think him to blame in this proceeding, nor do we ſee how he could do otherwiſe. For altho' it may be for our intereſt to determine, that we will have all the trade in our hands, that we will employ our own people to make ſalt, take every article of the produce of

the

the country off the ground at the firſt hand, and afterwards ſend it where we pleaſe free of cuſtoms: we ſay, tho' it may be for our intereſt to make this unlimited uſe of our force, yet it is not to be expected the Nabob will join with us, in endeavoring to deprive every merchant of the country of the means of carrying on their buſineſs, which muſt undoubtedly ſoon be the caſe, if they are obliged to pay heavy duties, and we trade in every article on the footing beforementioned.

NEITHER in our opinion could the Nabob in ſuch circumſtances collect enough to pay the expence of the chokeys collectors, &c. ſo that trade would be liable to clogs and interruptions, without any benefit to the government. As to the Nabob's rights to lay trade open, it is our opinion, that the Nazim of every province has a right to do any thing for the relief of the merchants trading under his protection, without waiting an order from the Court.

BESIDES, there is at this time no Court nor King, nor has been for ſome years;

and

and therefore the Nazims muſt of neceſſity manage their ſeveral governments, as they ſhall judge beſt for the general good.

AND if either the Nabob Serajah Dowla, Jaffier Allee Cawn, or Coſſim Allee Cawn, have a right to give up to us thoſe duties which their predeceſſors received, or permit us to trade in articles we were before excluded from, of courſe they have a right alſo to make regulations in favor of trade in general. We therefore think, that all we have to do on this occaſion is, to take ſuch precautions, as may prevent this order from prejudicing the Company's inveſtments, by ſeeing that the weavers employed in that ſervice are not engaged or taken away by other merchants, which is a right we have always exerciſed; and this being done, we hope the preſent regulation, inſtead of being a prejudice to the Company's buſineſs, may be an advantage to it, as well as to the country in general, by rendering the neceſſaries of life cheaper, and particularly thoſe of the poorer ſort, as rice, ſalt, beetle-nut, tobacco, &c.

Opinion

Opinion of the Majority.

IT being the opinion of the Board, that the revoking of the abovementioned ſunnud be a point inſiſted upon from the Nabob.

Reſolution in Conſequence.

AGREED, That an additional paragraph be added accordingly to the inſtructions given to Meſſ. Amyatt and Hay."

I HAVE before * taken notice of a prohibition of one of the Nabob's letters to Mahomed Allee, to take any duties from goods which had my duſtuck, and of the advantage which Meſſieurs Johnſtone and Hay took of that expreſſion, to reflect upon me, as endeavoring to except my own trade from the tax levied on that of others. When the inſtructions to Meſſ. Amyatt and Hay came to be debated before the Board, it was moved in a minute of Meſſ. Johnſtone and Hay, that they ſhould be directed to enquire, whether any private agreement had been made between the Nabob and myſelf reſpecting my own trade. It will be ſufficient

* See pag. 425, in Vol. II.

cient on this ſubject to enter their minute, and my own anſwer and obſervations on it.

Extract of Conſultation of March 28, 1763.

Meſſ. Johnſtone *and* Hay's *Minute.*

"MESSIEURS Johnſtone and Hay propoſe, that it ſhould be made an article in the inſtructions to Meſſ. Amyatt and Hay, to inquire of the Nabob what his meaning is, when he ſays, that Mr. Vanſittart's own particular gomaſtah ſhall be excuſed the duty laid on the trade of the Company, from one part of the country to the other, in caſe they produce Mr. Vanſittart's public or private duſtuck; for as this affair now ſtands repreſented, it will appear, that a private agreement has been entered into between Mr. Vanſittart and the Nabob, to put all that trade into Mr. Vanſittart's hands, which the reſt of the Engliſh were deprived of by the treaty laid before the Board; and as the order of the Nabob to Mahomed Allee appeared before the Board's diſapprobation was known

to

to the Nabob, conſequently the Company will expect to have it enquired into.

The Preſident's Minute.

THE Preſident deſires it may be minuted, that he is the firſt to deſire ſuch an enquiry may be made; and in the mean time, that he can refer to the papers he delivered into Council the firſt of February laſt, to prove that he was the firſt to give orders to his agents to pay the duties agreed on; and to that very letter * of the Nabob's to Mahomed Allee, read in conſultation the 2d of March (from which thoſe gentlemen have taken their obſervation) to prove, that his buſineſs was ſtopped as ſoon as others after the regulations, not only in his private inland trade, on which he agreed to pay nine *per cent.* duties; but alſo in the cloth trade provided for him by a duſtuck: and it is in direct reference to this laſt circumſtance that the Nabob ſays, "if "the ſaid gomaſtah has the Company's "or the Governor's own duſtuck, you "are

* See the letter Vol. II. page 427, which is an anſwer to the Governor's complaint of ſome of his cloth being ſtopped.

"are not to impede him." As a further proof, that the Preſident never deſired any ſuch order from the Nabob, he lays before the Board the following Extract of a letter which he wrote to the Nabob on the ſubject the 6th of March *. He concludes with obſerving, that as this is not the firſt inſtance of Meſſ. Johnſtone and Hay's endeavouring to ſcandalize his character, there is no room for being ſurprized at it.

ON the 30th of March I received two letters from the Nabob, complaining of the injuries done him by the Board, and the inſults to which he was daily expoſed, in very warm and expreſſive terms; and the next day a letter arrived from the gentlemen at Patna, giving an account of a ſkirmiſh between fifty of our ſeepoys, and ſome of the Nabob's people near Gyah. Thoſe letters were as follow.

* See this extract in page 427. in Vol. II.

Copy

Copy of a Letter from the Nabob *to the Governor. Dated* March 22, 1763.

" YOUR agreeable letter, in anſwer to what I wrote you is arrived, and I underſtand the contents, viz. " You " laid my two letters before the reſt of " the Council, from the peruſal of which, " it appeared to you, and the whole " Board, that notwithſtanding all the " injury Mahomed Allee Beg, and o- " thers, had been the cauſe of, yet I am " unwilling to examine into it, and con- " cern myſelf in the clearing it up; " wherefore, you write me the parti- " culars of your reſolves as follows.

" You carefully peruſed the Royal " Firmaun, &c. from which you un- " derſtand, that the Engliſh are to trade " with the Company's duſtuck duty-free " every where in ports, and alſo in in- " land places, by land and by water, " throughout the provinces of Bengal, " Bahar and Oriſſa. The approved and " ſteady reſolution of the whole Board " upon which, is to act agreeably to the " Firmaun and your ſunnuds.

" But

" BUT in examining this matter you " obſerved, that upon ſome certain ar- " ticles, it was cuſtomary in ſome cer- " tain places, to give a certain confi- " ration; upon tobacco in two places, " namely, Dacca and Luckypoor; nei- " ther you, nor the reſt of the Council, " are deſirous of annulling an eſtabliſh- " ed rule; and upon ſalt, you will let " me have two and a half *per cent.*

" SHOULD my officers injure the Eng- " liſh gomaſtahs, the Engliſh gomaſtahs " are to repreſent their grievances to the " chief of a factory, which he is to de- " termine without favor or affection.

" ALL loſſes that have ariſen to the " gentlemen of Council, through the " oppreſſions of my officers, upon proof, " you lay me under the neceſſity of mak- " ing good to you; but until my offi- " cers receive orders, that the agree- " ment between you and me is not to " take effect, they will not refrain from " injuſtice; I muſt therefore return " you the letter of agreement betwixt

"you and me, and write to all my of-
"ficers, that I have returned it."

BEFORE this, I ſent for Mahomed Alee Beg, in order to enquire into particulars. All whatever you may have paid him, by way of cuſtom, either in money or merchandize, and can ſend me his own ſealed receipts for, I will make him repay in money, and will ſeverely puniſh him.

YOU, and the reſt of the Board, in conformity to the Firmaun, huſbul-hookums, &c. ſunnuds, are willing to give me ſomething upon tobacco, in two places, namely, Dacca and Luckypoor, and will let me have two and a half *per cent.* upon ſalt. Why ſhould you take upon you ſo great a hardſhip? As I never got any thing by collecting duties, and they are a cauſe of endleſs diſputes between us, I have entirely put a ſtop to collecting cuſtoms.

I AM not ignorant of the nature of your Firmaun and Huſbul-hookums. I have been twenty or thirty years in Bengal, and am perfectly acquainted with every

every article in them. But not to go ſo far back. In the time of the Nabob Meer Jaffier, when notwithſtanding I ſtood your friend, it was a difficulty to get ten or twenty timbers from Chittagong, for building your houſes; then what was become of your Firmaun and Huſbul-hookums? And, at preſent, that I am Nabob, where are they come from?

You are reſolved, that the determination of all diſputes with my officers, ſhall reſt in the power of the chiefs of your factories.

THE juſtice of the chiefs of the factories is this; they abuſe and beat my officers, and carry them away bound.

WITH reſpect to your writing me, to make good in money the loſſes the gentlemen have ſuſtained. In the provinces of my government, half is in land rents, and half is in cuſtoms. You have taken half the country, and by your favor, I have not reaped ſo much as a ſingle farthing, on account of the cuſtoms; and the half of land rents which remains, goes to the payment of my ſeepoys. A-

ny other perſon, therefore, that you can pitch upon, you will agree with, for making good your loſſes.

You demanded a perwannah to all my officers. Copies, both of a perwannah and ſunnud, for exemption of duties, which I wrote to every one of my officers, are ſent incloſed to you. If any of my officers ſhall act contrary to my order, therein ſignified, he ſhall be puniſhed. You write me, to ſend you back the agreement made between us. The only agreement you made with me, is a letter you wrote to me, which I ſend back, agreeable to your directions. If the former treaty, on which I depended, is of no uſe to me, and I have not paſſed a ſingle moment free from trouble and diſpute, will a freſh treaty be of uſe to me? If you write to me for the former treaty, it ſhall be alſo ſent you."

Copy of a Letter from the Nabob *to the Governor. Dated* March 22, 1763.

"YOUR favor, dated the 25th of Shaaban, is arrived, and I am happy

happy with the news of your welfare; the copy of Rajah Nobit Roy's letter, which was incloſed, I have alſo received and read. You write me, that "it "is plain from Rajah Nobit Roy's letter, that I demand duties upon opium. "That your right to trade in this, is "founded upon the Royal Firmaun, "Huſbul-hookums, and former ſunnuds, which, with all other rights and "privileges, the Engliſh are reſolved "ſteadfaſtly to maintain, nor ſuffer any "infringement. That you will ſend me "copies of the Firmaun and ſunnuds "by Mr. Amyatt. That I muſt write "to all my officers and fougedars, that "trade may be carried on as uſual; elſe, "in caſe of my delaying to do ſo, a "a rupture would happen between me "and the Engliſh."

THE affair of duties is as follows. On account of the oppreſſion of the Engliſh gomaſtahs, there has not ſo much as a ſingle farthing been collected by way of duties. Nay, ſo far from it, you form colluſions with ſome of my

people, and exact fines from others. And many merchants, who ought to pay cuſtoms, have carried their goods duty-free, through your protection. Upon this account, I have entirely given up the collection of duties, and removed all chokeys whereſoever eſtabliſhed. For why ſhould I ſubject my character to be reproached without cauſe, on account of duties? If any one of my people ſhall inſiſt upon duties, I will ſeverely puniſh him. As to what you write, of your grounding your rights upon the Firmaun and former ſunnuds, I have been twenty or thirty years in this country, and I am perfectly well acquainted with the nature thereof. But you ought to remember, that your gomaſtahs, until the time of Meer Mahomed Jaffier Cawn, traded only in ſome certain articles. Nay, altho' I ſtood your friend, you were unable to provide ten or twenty timbers from Chittagong for building; but now, in my adminiſtration, your gomaſtahs make ſo many diſturbances, and are guilty of ſo great injuries, that I cannot enumerate them.

them. Judge, therefore, from theſe circumſtances, who is the oppreſſor, and who the oppreſſed.

You write, that in caſe of my delaying to ſend orders to my officers, a rupture muſt happen between us. It was needleſs for you to write this to me, ſince before your letter Mr. Ellis never let ſlip any opportunity of bringing about a rupture, and ſhewing his ill-will to me, and brought the affairs to this length. Nor has he ever omitted any occaſion of perplexing my affairs, and diſgracing my officers. Why need I continue to repeat theſe things to you? It is the cuſtom of Europeans, to change their chief every three years. As three years of my being Nazim are almoſt expired, and you have never had any pretence, by any deviation on my part; therefore, with a view to effect a change, and turn me out, you have been raiſing all theſe diſputes and altercations, and have written to your gomaſtahs, to commit diſturbances and ravages in my country; and have ſent troops, to beat, bind, confine, and carry off my

officers, expecting that I would accordingly make some stir, and you might be furnished with a pretence against me."

Copy of a Letter from the Chief and Council at Patna *to the Board*, March 23, 1768.

"WE have now to acquaint you with an affair, which will further explain the intentions of the Nabob, and shew, that they are not merely confined to the collection of duties on our trade. A subahdar, about the beginning of this month, had permission to go and worship at Gyah, and was furnished with a dustuck from the chief, another from Nobit Roy, and a letter from the latter to the fougedar of that place, to prevent his meeting any insults. But notwithstanding this precaution, he was made a prisoner: the chief, upon being informed of it, sent fifty seepoys to release him, and seize the offender, which they effected, but were the next day surrounded in a house by about 4000 of the Nabob's troops from Tikarry. The subahdar asked their intentions, and told them,

he had no orders to moleſt any perſon. The commander replied, it was the Nabob's orders, to cut every Engliſh ſeepoy to pieces wherever they were found. The ſubahdar told him, he would not ſubmit ſo tamely. After much altercation, the Nabob's officers agreed to let them go, provided they would deliver up their arms and cloaths; but this being abſolutely refuſed by the ſubahdar, the Nabob's people began to fire on them, and throw combuſtibles into the houſe, by which a havaldar was killed, and a few ſeepoys wounded. Our people then, and not before, returned their fire, and defended themſelves till the evening, when they marched out of the houſe, bringing their wounded with them, and arrived here this morning, without any further loſs.

THE people, who were the original inſtruments of this miſchief by ſeizing the ſubahdar, eſcaped during the fray; and in the preſent ſituation of affairs, we cannot ſpare a force ſufficient to chaſtize their inſolence; but we doubt not you will reſent it in ſuch a manner, as ſhall

deter

deter the Nabob and his officers from acting ſo in future.

"THE city is ſtill in the ſame uproar and confuſion, and all buſineſs, but that of war, at a ſtand."

WHEN theſe letters * were read at the Board, great offence was taken at the ſtyle of the Nabob, which was judged to indicate ſo ill a diſpoſition towards us, as to render all hopes of an accommodation vain; and it was moved by ſome, that the deputation ſhould be ſet aſide, and the army held in readineſs to march; but the majority being of opinion, that Mr. Amyatt and Hay ſhould proceed as far as Coſſimbuzar, and there wait till the Nabob's aſſent to the deputation ſhould authorize them to proceed; it was reſolved accordingly, that they ſhould ſet

* At the ſame conſultation were read two letters of the Nabob, to me and Mr. Amyatt, in anſwer to the propoſed deputation. Though the ſubſtance of theſe letters is ſufficiently noticed in the minutes which follow, yet to avoid any miſconſtruction from their omiſſion, I have wrote to Bengal for the copies, and they ſhall be hereafter inſerted.

ſet out. As the opinions of the Board contain the fulleſt remarks that can be made on the Nabob's letters, and ſerve to throw a freſh light on the diſpoſitions of the ſeveral members, I ſhall here inſert them.

Extract of Conſultation, April 1, 1763.

Mr. Watt's *Opinion.*

"THE Nabob's letters appear to me to contain little elſe than evaſions and inſolences. His conduct for many months paſt has been ſuch, that there is little room left to doubt his intentions, which are to diſtreſs the Engliſh, and depreciate their character, power and intereſt in theſe provinces; and I am ſorry to ſay, he has almoſt accompliſhed them. It is natural to conclude, that a man raiſed to the Subahſhip, and ſupported by them to the utmoſt, contrary to the inclinations of the King and great people of the country, would have ſome regard for their intereſt, if not ſome friendſhip for the Engliſh; but his conduct proves the contrary; and the ſtep he

he has pursued in taking off all duties is, and will be the greatest detriment to the Company and the English. His refusing to see Mr. Amyatt I deem an insult; his letter bids us defiance; the preparations he is making every where, and the readiness he shews to quarrel with us, have produced an entire stoppage to trade.

MR. WATTS is therefore of opinion, that a letter be wrote to the Naboh, insisting on his recalling the orders for not levying of duties, and that the trade of the country be carried on as formerly; that if he will comply with this, Messr. Amyatt and Hay should proceed to him to settle any other points; but if on the contrary, that we do ourselves justice, and take that satisfaction by force for the many insults he has put upon us, which he refused to give; and that orders be given for the army to hold themselves in readiness to march.

Mr. Marriott's *Opinion.*

MR. MARRIOTT is of opinion, that the Nabob's letters are wrote in a very improper and indecent style, and that he

shews

ſhews throughout great diſtruſt and diffidence of us; that notwithſtanding he thinks, from the Nabob's actions and letter, particularly theſe laſt, we ſhould be fully juſtified in coming to an open war with him; yet a revolution is of ſuch a nature, and muſt be attended with ſuch bad conſequences to our character and reputation, if not to our intereſt, that it is the laſt thing to be wiſhed for. He therefore thinks a letter ſhould be wrote to the Nabob, informing him, that there are a number of articles to be communicated to him by Meſſ. Amyatt and Hay, beſides that of duties, for the welfare and intereſt of the Company, and his own government. That if he has the thoughts of either at heart, he ſhould aſſent to Meſſ. Amyatt's and Hay's coming upon this occaſion. That our troops have never acted, but when his officers had directly ſtopped our buſineſs. That we once more aſſure him of our willingneſs to protect him on all occaſions in his juſt rights; and that we never had an intention of ſetting up a competitor againſt

againſt him. That without he will allow us to remove his ſuſpicions and jealouſies by an interview, with two of the members of the Board, it will be impoſſible for us to act otherwiſe, than as againſt a declared enemy, which we ſhall then unwillingly be obliged to, for the preſervation of our rights and privileges.

THAT in the mean time Meſſ. Amyatt and Hay, might be requeſted to proceed up as far as Coſſimbuzar, and there wait till we receive the Nabob's anſwer; if that anſwer ſhould not deſire an immediate interview with Meſſ. Amyatt and Hay, or be the leaſt evaſive, that the army ſhould march up and act againſt him as an enemy.

Mr. Hay's Opinion.

THE Nabob's conduct for near a twelvemonth paſt, and particularly his method of redreſſing our grievances when applied to for that purpoſe; and his letters throughout, which point out the ſituation in which he thinks we ought to be kept, and his notion of the privileges which we enjoy, by grant and treaty,

ty, fully declare his reſolution to give us no ſatisfaction for the loſſes we have ſuſtained, by the unjuſt conduct of his officers, or to treat with us about theſe affairs, or receive the deputation propoſed by us, to be ſent to him for the adjuſtment of them. Theſe together convince me, was the conſequence of a rupture, with the Nabob, ever ſo doubtful, that it would be our intereſt, and the beſt meaſure that could be purſued, immediately to march againſt him, before he could do the country much harm, or be prepared to perpetrate our ruin, which, no doubt he would, were it in his power; and I imagine, by his late conduct, he thinks it is. By comparing the condition of his army and ours, I think it can hardly be doubted, but a war between us muſt end in his immediate ruin, although he ſhould employ his whole art for ſome months to ſtrengthen himſelf.

IT is reaſonable to think, that any other perſon, in the Nabob's ſituation, would be jealous of us, as long as we

continue to hold the poſſeſſions we have in the country; and that nothing but our having a ſufficient force, or reputation in the country, can keep them to us. Theſe have, in my opinion, both been greatly leſſened by a very bad policy, in making the Nabob too great; for as his power increaſes, ſo, in compariſon, ours does diminiſh. But our reputation has ſuffered much more than our power, by than means; for by giving up to the Nabob thoſe that we had promiſed to protect; and ſeeing him, without ever making a remonſtrance, ruin almoſt every perſon in the country, that had ever any connection with the Engliſh; and making them promiſe never to have any, under ſevere penalties, we have entirely loſt that reputation which we had, of being perſons of honor, whoſe words and promiſes might, in all caſes, be depended on; and which received ſuch great and irreparable hurt by the laſt revolution. This kind of reputation, which we have ſo much ſuffered in, is not only very deſirable, but highly

highly uſeful; but that kind of reputation which we had, of being maſters of the country, when we pleaſed, would be equally, if not more uſeful to us, in keeping us in poſſeſſion of our lands and rights, and preventing us from numberleſs broils, which a contrary opinion will bring on us, and this has equally been hurt by our policy; for the people in the country can never think, that our conduct proceeded from any other cauſe, than an inability to help ourſelves, or act otherwiſe.

HAVING conſidered this, and that it may be of ſervice to our reputation, and in ſome meaſure recover us from the imputation of being unfaithful to our engagements, to endeavor all in our power (even by delay, which might be of the moſt fatal conſequence, was it not for the ſuperiority that we have at preſent) to bring about an adjuſtment of affairs with the Nabob, on ſuch terms as have been propoſed before; which, I hope, will ſufficiently prevent its being thought in the country, that we are altogether

dependent on the Nabob; I therefore agree with Mr. Marriott in what he propoſes to effect it.

Mr. Johnſtone's *Opinion.*

THERE is ſcarce a man in the province, that ever had any attachment to the Engliſh, or any connection or dependence on them, but has been marked out, on that account, and ſacrificed by the Nabob, through his jealouſy and hatred to us; inſomuch, that it cannot be ſaid, we have now left us one friend in the country, nor any to give us the leaſt intelligence of what paſſes relative to us, in theſe times of trouble. All we learn, is through our Chief and Council at Patna. The proceedings of the Nabob in turning off our troops. The ſtoppage and impediments thrown in the way of our trade, ſince July laſt, without the removal or puniſhment of any of the authors of theſe loſſes and diſturbances. The inſolent orders he every where iſſued, to turn every Engliſhman out of the country, that refuſed obedience to the late regulations. The violences

lences and oppreſſions to which his officers proceeded in conſequence, in which he both juſtifies and ſupports them by force of arms. The orders he has iſſued, for collecting nine *per cent.* duty on opium, and on goods purchaſed, that are produced in the country, without any diſtinction, whether for export or inland trade. The contemptible light in which he conſiders the Company's rights, in virtue of their royal grants, and the late treaties; and the intention he has ſhewn, of reducing and confining our trade to as narrow limits, and under as great difficulties, as thoſe we labored under before the revolution; and the open attempt he has now made to injure the Company's trade, by undermining their privileges, and rendering them of no effect, in preſuming of his own unwarranted authority to take off all duties. The attack he ordered to be made on our factory, and ſeepoys near Taajepoor, and his juſtifying the ſame, and declaring his reſolution of oppoſing force by force, on the like occaſions; and the public threats he has

made uſe of before the gomaſtah, of extirpating the Engliſh, if ever they preſumed to act againſt his aumils in future; though he had been previouſly informed by the Board, that our Chiefs would act by their authority, in freeing our trade where ſtopped, or in repelling any inſults or abuſes of his officers. The ſtopping and impriſoning our ſubahdar, though furniſhed with the Company's duſtuck, and attacking and killing our people ſent to relieve him, which agrees perfectly with his own declaration in his letter, that he conſiders things already brought to a rupture. The Nabob's diſinclination of entering into any new treaty to adjuſt theſe diſputes. The ſlight and diſdain he ſhews for that treaty by which he holds his ſubahſhip. His expreſs declaration to Mr. Amyatt, that he had better keep away than come to talk upon buſineſs. The preparations that we are informed from Patna, Moorſhedabad and Dacca, he is every where making for war, without having given us ſatisfaction, or any reaſon to hope, that he will give

us

us ſatisfaction, on any of the points we have laid down and inſiſted on. All theſe circumſtances, with the ſtyle and purport of his ſix laſt letters, which bid us defiance in the moſt inſolent and ungrateful manner, make me entirely of opinion, that the Nabob looks upon us as his enemies, and waits his opportunity of ruining us. That, from his averſion to any advances to ſettle theſe quarrels, or credit any aſſurances we have given him of our peaceable intentions, the mutual confidence that ought to ſubſiſt betwixt us (and without which, we muſt ever be in a ſtate of war, though it be not publickly declared) is now loſt, without any well-grounded hope of its being reſtored, which does, and muſt tend to the ruin of all commerce; and, therefore, I can neither think it ſafe nor honorable, or that, in the Nabob's preſent diſpoſition towards us, it can produce any good effect, that Meſſ. Amyatt and Hay ſhould proceed on the deputation; and that till the Nabob, by his behavior, ſhews as great a deſire and

willingneſs to prevent things coming to extremes, by condeſcenſions very different from any he has made; our own honor, and the intereſt and ſecurity of our Honorable Maſters affairs, dictate to us, to adopt and purſue more vigorous meaſures, and order the army to be held in readineſs to march.

Mr. Haſtings's Opinion.

THOUGH I do not approve of the regulations which have been reſolved upon by the majority of the Board, yet ſince they are to take place, and the diſputes with the Nabob, upon the ſubjects which gave occaſion to them, have been carried to ſo great a height, I think it neceſſary that they ſhould be delivered and explained to him by a deputation from the Board, and that Meſſ. Amyatt and Hay ſhould therefore proceed, as before directed, on that commiſſion. The Nabob has expreſſed a deſire to ſee Mr. Amyatt, and makes no other objection to a conference with him, on the affairs which have been lately debated at the Board, than his deſire to avoid every ſubject of conten-

contention; having with that intent conſented to ſuch of the articles as he has been made acquainted with. But if he has exceeded the intention of the Board, or not ſufficiently anſwered their expectations, it is the more neceſſary, that ſome gentlemen be deputed to confer with him in perſon upon them; it being a known truth, that more may be effected by a perſonal negotiation in one day, than in a month by letters.

As to the other part of the queſtion, which I ſhall take the liberty to underſtand, in the terms in which it was firſt propoſed, viz. "Whether the army "ſhould march againſt the Nabob." I declare my entire diſſent to ſo violent a meaſure, which no pretence of neceſſity can require, or juſtice allow of.

It is unneceſſary, becauſe it is not in the Nabob's power to oppoſe any laws which we may preſent to him; and the orders lately ſent to the ſubordinate factories are ſufficient to preſerve them in full force.

The ſame reaſon might be urged in proof of its injuſtice, were there no o-

this againſt it; but when the Nabob has declared his ſubmiſſion to every term which you have impoſed upon him, and expoſtulates only for his life, whatever his motive be, whether of choice or neceſſity, ſurely we may reſt ſatisfied with ſuch a condeſcenſion, nor attempt to reduce him to a lower ſtate of humiliation. I ſhall not (I hope I need not) remind you gentlemen, of the earneſt injunctions of the Company, to abide by our engagements with the Nabob, and to avoid to the laſt extremity every occaſion, that may tend to another change in the government. But ſhould it be reſolved to break with the Nabob, I hope ſuch gentlemen as are of that ſentiment, will declare it before the laſt diſpatches are made to Europe, that our Honorable Maſters may have as early notice of it as poſſible, and take the ſpeedieſt meaſures to remedy (if poſſible) the diſorders which may follow from it.

Mr. Cartier's Opinion.

MR. CARTIER eſteems the Nabob's letters as inſolent and equivocating, and

far

far from giving us that ſatisfaction, which we have reaſon to expect from him, that they require clearneſs, and leave us doubtful as to his real intentions towards us. That his compliance with our demands, in thoſe points we have inſiſted upon with him, which he makes a matter of much merit, is a contemptuous manner of proceeding, having effectually undone to us the advantages of this very compliance, and rendered our valuable privileges void, by a general indulgence granted to his ſubjects and others of a free trade. That his letter to Mr. Amyatt neither conſents to, nor abſolutely refuſes the viſit the Board have thought proper ſhould be made him. That it is neceſſary he be made fully acquainted with the purport of this viſit, viz. "that the ſuſpicions harboured in his "mind may be baniſhed, and give place "to that hope and confidence he ought "to have of our particular attachment "to him; to make him ſenſible the good "of the country, and his own particu-"larly, is in every reſpect intended by "it.

"it. That our intentions extend no fur-
"ther, but to the ſupport of our rights
"and privileges, in which it would be
"more becoming him to join with us,
"than to be offended at, and oppoſe
"thoſe ſteps, which we are neceſſarily
"led to take to puniſh thoſe that in-
"vade them. That Mr. Amyatt, for
"all theſe deſirable ends, intends to ſet
"out, and will wait the reſult of theſe
"repreſentations at Coſſimbuzar, and
" be governed by his anſwer." That in caſe of meeting a refuſal to this viſit, we ſhall be juſtified in the opinion of the world, if we conſider him the declared enemy of our nation, and proceed immediately againſt him.

It is certainly becoming in the members of this Board, to purſue every honorable method, that may tend to effect a perfect reconciliation with the Nabob; and every one that would conduce to that end, ought not to be neglected, or left untried. Our late revolution, he believes, has done us not much honour in the eyes of the world; and another ſo

quickly

quickly ſucceeding, would prove, in ſome meaſure, the inconſtant wavering ſtate of our Councils; and motives of action be imputed to the members of this Board, unbecoming gentlemen and honeſt men to be influenced by: he therefore thinks it neceſſary to convince the Nabob, of our having force ſufficient to take every ſatisfaction required, but with no deſign to uſe it againſt his government, till his refractory behaviour abſolutely compels us.

Mr. Billers's *Opinion.*

HAVING carefully examined the Nabob's laſt letter, as well as that to Mr. Amyatt, I think there are many expreſſions in the former injurious and improper, but they ſeem to be mentioned rather thro' pet and paſſion, than any intention of quarrelling with us. I therefore give it as my opinion, that the neceſſity there is of Meſſ. Amyatt and Hay's going to negotiate, ought to be again repreſented to him. That at preſent his affairs ſuffer as well as ours, and that it is abſolutely neceſſary he ſhould come to

ſome

ſome determination; but ſhould he refuſe to treat with us, or hear any thing relative to buſineſs, then it may be deemed an open declaration of war; but without further cauſe than we have at preſent, I ſee no need of breaking with him; and as the Company have thought proper to confirm him, we ought to be very cautious how we take ſuch a ſtep, and bring about another revolution, for we ſeem at preſent ſomewhat obnoxious in the eyes of the country people, on having concluded the laſt. However, our rights and privileges have been lately ſo infringed, and things ſo circumſtanced, that it is highly neceſſary ſome ſpeedy remedy ſhould take place. I therefore think Meſſ. Amyatt and Hay might proceed to Coſſimbuzar, and there wait the Nabob's final reſolves; and in caſe he ſtill perſiſts in refuſing to ſee thoſe gentlemen, the army ſhould march; but all methods ought to be tried to bring affairs to an amicable iſſue, for the reaſons beforementioned.

Mr.

Mr. Batſon's *Opinion.*

THE Nabob's ſettled inveteracy, and evil deſigns againſt us, have long been manifeſt to the whole country; but of late they have appeared more glaringly, both from his actions and from his letters, which are filled with ſcorn and defiance; not to mention a multitude of inſtances, which may be produced, I ſhall only take notice of his endeavors to undermine and utterly deſtroy the privileges, granted us by the King's Firmaun, by exempting all other merchants, of whatſoever nation, from paying duties, in order to put them on a level with us. His deſigns indeed are ſo evident, that the conſtant artifices uſed by the Preſident and Mr. Haſtings to diſguiſe the truth, and miſrepreſent matters of fact, cannot conceal them. The caſe, at preſent, ſeems to be this; either we muſt ſubmit to be reduced to the ſituation in which we were, during the time of Mohabut Jung, and Serajah Dowla, or elſe we muſt oblige the Nabob to ſubmit to us. The latter, I apprehend, from his

his late behavior, we ſhall not be able to effect, unleſs we can make him feel our power; and I will never be acceſſary or conſenting to any thing that may expoſe us to the danger of the former. It is my opinion, therefore, that we ſhould neglect no means of putting ourſelves in the beſt poſture of defence, that we may be ready to act in the moſt effectual manner; and that Major Adams be accordingly deſired to hold himſelf in readineſs to march, whenever it be neceſſary. I think alſo, that Meſſ. Amyatt and Hay ſhould not proceed on their deputation, as the Nabob has abſolutely refuſed to treat with them; and therefore their going, will only expoſe us to further contempt and deriſion, a large ſhare of which we have already incurred. However, that the Nabob may ſtill have an opportunity given him of remaining on amicable terms with us, I propoſe, that our demands be once more fully ſtated to him by letter; and that we inſiſt on a direct compliance therewith, without evaſion or ſubterfuge. If he ſtill refuſe

fuſe to comply, I think we ſhould immediately take our meaſures for cruſhing him; for, as it is known that he is raiſing troops, and making warlike preparations in all parts of the country, a further delay may be very dangerous.

Mr. Amyatt's *Opinion.*

I THINK the Nabob's letters ſhew the ſame ſtate of mind, which he always has ſeemed to expreſs and diſcover by his actions, ever ſince he has been in the government; and no further than might well be expected from him, from having been ſo long ſuffered to follow his own will, and his whims indulged to appeaſe his jealouſies. General complaints admitted againſt our ſervants, when the oppreſſions which we now experience have been on his part; our buſineſs ſtopped, and almoſt every where impeded, without our exerting our influence and power to clear it, becauſe we would not give him offence, or make him uneaſy; to moſt of theſe grievances and conceſſions, myſelf, with ſeveral members of the Board, have often objected and remonſtrated, foreſeeing that,

that, in the end, it muſt create the animoſity and ill-will, which now is come to paſs, and that we ſhould be neceſſitated by force, to aſſert our own rights, which he had been ſo long endeavoring to ſubvert. I am too ſenſible, that the people of the government are not to be ſo far truſted, as to have any point given up to them. A compliance, in the moſt trivial matter, gives them a privilege, they think, to exerciſe their authority, without controul, in every thing, tho' of ever ſo much conſequence and detriment to the condeſcending party. Such being the prepoſſeſſions of the Nabob's mind, our inſiſting on a free exertion of our rights and privileges now, appears to him as an encroachment on his liberties, and a loſs to him in his duties, from our trade being extended. For this way of thinking, however, he has no juſtice on his ſide, for the ſame trade, in its different branches, was carried on in his predeceſſor's time, tho' not to ſo great a degree, occaſioned ſolely by the troubles

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and confuſion the country was every where involved in.

THAT the Nabob would gladly make himſelf independent of us, and always ſhewed ſuch an inclination, endeavored as much as poſſible to throw off all connections with us, and attempted to deſtroy our influence with the country people, is very evident. But vain are all theſe efforts, and to be ſuſpected the advice of bad and evil perſons about him for their own advantage; as moſt certainly he muſt be convinced, his own ſtrength cannot defend him from any attempt of a foreign power, or reduce us to that ſtate of dependence, he probably has been taught to believe. I am apt to believe, that ſentiments have alſo been inſtilled into him, that he might ſafely interrupt our private trade, and that we durſt not offer to check him therein, whilſt the Company's remained unmoleſted; whereas, private trade ſhould be as ſacred as the Company's, and no diſtinction ever known; for that once obſtructed, the Company's cannot long remain free;

which plainly appears, from what it has ſuffered through the courſe of theſe diſputes; tho' I believe no ſuch loſſes were intended by the Nabob. The Nabob's letters are petulant and impertinent; they likewiſe contain ſome invectives and defiance, but not of ſuch a nature, as if he felt his own ſtrength ſufficient to break with us. I therefore think he ought to be wrote to once more, in the terms propoſed by Mr. Marriott, to convince him of his error, in thinking that we have views to a change; and to inſiſt on his receiving our deputation, as the only means left of preventing ſuch an event. If he refuſes ſo reaſonable a demand, I think we may juſtly interpret the ill intentions to be on his ſide; and that we ſhall be juſtified to the world, in taking the moſt vigorous and immediate meaſures, for ſecuring the trade and intereſt of our Honorable Employers in theſe provinces. As it ſeems to be the ſentiment of the majority of the Board, I ſhall willingly proceed the length of Coſſimbuzar, and there wait the Nabob's anſwer.

Major

Major Adams's *Opinion.*

MAJOR ADAMS is of opinion, that the Nabob, by his letters to the Board, ſeems to have entertained jealouſies, that muſt be very prejudicial both to his own and the Company's affairs; and which cannot be removed but by ſeeing Mr. Amyatt; and therefore he ſhould be wrote to by the Board to reconcile him to the interview. In the mean time, he thinks it neceſſary that Mr. Amyatt ſhould proceed to Coſſimbuzar, and there wait the Nabob's anſwer; and if by it he ſtill perſiſts in his refuſal of ſeeing Mr. Amyatt on buſineſs, the major can think of no other method to bring him to reaſon, than marching up the troops; yet thinks, if any other meaſures can be thought of, to put a ſtop to the preſent confuſions, and prevent a future ſcene of troubles in the country, they ſhould be firſt tried.

The Preſident's Opinion.

ALTHOUGH the Nabob's letters of the 22d of March, do not contain a chearful and candid aſſent to the demands made upon him by the Board, yet he

does not contradict, nor refuſe to comply with them. It is not to be wondered, that he complains and remonſtrates, and writes with ill humour, ſince it is certain, that the privileges which the majority of the Board have reſolved now to inſiſt on, are greater than ever were before inſiſted on, or than we were ever admitted to, by any former Nabob, even Jaffier Allee Cawn, who poſitively refuſed to let us have a factory at Chittagong, much leſs would he permit us to carry on our trade cuſtom-free in all parts, and in all articles.

SUPPOSING, therefore, that the demanded rights be really and truly granted and intended us by the Firmaun, which however is not my opinion; yet with reſpect to the Nabob, the inſiſting on it is an innovation, which he may very naturally complain of, as it occaſions a great loſs in that part of the revenue proceeding from the cuſtoms. He ſays indeed an entire loſs; for which reaſon, to avoid farther diſputes on the ſubject, he has given orders for taking off all cuſtoms in general.

OF

OF this order the majority of the Board complain with equal vehemence, and have reſolved to inſiſt on his taking cuſtoms from other merchants, in the uſual manner, altho' not from us. This is to form part of the commiſſion to Meſſ. Amyatt and Hay, as well as the diſcuſſing the privileges of the Firmaun.

THE ſecond reſolution of the Board has not yet been made known to the Nabob, who conceiving there is nothing more to be ſaid about cuſtoms, after he has entirely aboliſhed them; and having been adviſed from the Board, that Meſſ. Amyatt and Hay were deputed to regulate the affair of the cuſtoms, therefore he anſwers, that their coming is unneceſſary. In every other reſpect, his letter to Mr. Amyatt is written in an handſome and ſuitable manner.

WITH reſpect to the preſent ſituation of affairs between us and the Nabob, it is this. Wherever the Company's buſineſs, or that of their ſervants, ſuffered any interruption, our forces have been employed to remove ſuch obſtruc-

tions, and ſeize thoſe officers of the government who occaſioned them; we have cleared our buſineſs, and taken our own ſatisfaction, and left the Nabob on the ſuffering ſide; and a very great ſufferer he will undoubtedly be; for it is well known, that the zemindars, collectors, and other officers of the country government, when they ſee a likelihood of troubles, and their Maſter's power on the decline, never fail to make uſe of the opportunity of keeping back their rents.

THE Nabob's letters are thoſe of a deſpairing man, who has imagined to himſelf, that the Board, or the majority of them, have determined at all events to overthrow his government, let him do what he will, and ſubmit never ſo patiently to their reſolutions. To this ſtate of his mind, many of the petulant expreſſions, and the anxiety which appears through his letters, ſhould be attributed, and proper allowances made. While we are left in quiet poſſeſſion of the countries aſſigned to the Company, and their trading buſineſs alſo is carried

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on in every part without interruption, it would be as impolitick as unjuſt, to begin a war without neceſſity againſt an ally, whom we are bound by treaty to ſupport; and of which, the conſequence, would probably be a ſcene of freſh diſtraction in the country, a general interruption of trade, and a wanton effuſion of blood.

THAT the Nabob has not the deſign of breaking with us, I think, is plainly proved from his conduct, as well as from the expoſtulating ſtyle of his letters. It is not reaſonable to take for granted every report made to us, by an Engliſh gomaſtah, or a diſcontented officer of the government. If he had a mind to break with us, he would certainly have attacked thoſe three companies of ſeepoys, with lieutenant Downie, which were detached from Patna, and ſeized the Nabob's officer at Mow, whilſt the Nabob, with his whole army, was within a ſhort march of the place. And if he had ſucceeded againſt thoſe three companies, he would then have attacked

our troops at Patna, to have endeavored to have cut off ſo conſiderable a part of our force; inſtead of which, his retiring to Monghear, is a proof with me, that he will ſubmit to any thing, rather than come to hoſtilities with us.

AND I think we ought equally to deſire to preſerve the peace and tranquility of the country, and amicably to accommodate the points in diſpute; for which purpoſe, I think, no method ſo proper, as the deputation propoſed, to diſcuſs thoſe points. The Nabob's ſaying, that if Mr. Amyatt's buſineſs is to diſpute upon the articles of cuſtoms, he had better not come, as it is a point already ſettled, by the aboliſhing of cuſtoms in general; is not, in my opinion, to be regarded as a refuſal to treat with Mr. Amyatt, upon the matters contained in the inſtructions, to Mr. Hay and him from the Board; and which having never yet been communicated to the Nabob, it conſequently cannot be ſaid, that he has refuſed to diſcuſs them.

I THINK,

I THINK, therefore, that it would be moſt expedient to write to the Nabob, in anſwer to his laſt letters, to this effect. "That the alarms, in all parts of the country, muſt be attended with a very great loſs and detriment, both to his affairs and the Company's, and a breach of the friendſhip between us, infallibly enſue, if the neceſſary regulations for carrying on our buſineſs, and ſettling the points in diſpute, be not immediately concluded. That as a proof of our deſire to avoid coming to extremities, we appointed Meſſ. Amyatt and Hay to confer with him, as the moſt effectual method of regulating affairs with diſpatch. That he ought to regard ſuch our appointment of two gentlemen of the Board, as the ſtrongeſt mark of our friendſhip, and a compliment paid him; and that if he ſhould refuſe to treat with them, it can be regarded in no other light, but as a declaration of his intention to come to a rupture with us."

AND

AND I think Mr. Amyatt might himſelf write to the Nabob, to the ſame purpoſe, and wait his anſwer, either at Calcutta, or Coſſimbuzar. But if the Board ſhould determine, that Meſſ. Amyatt and Hay ſhall not proceed according to their appointment, then, I think, that a letter ſhould be wrote to the Nabob, upon the plan of their inſtructions, demanding every thing thereby directed to be demanded, and requiring a plain, explicit, and final anſwer, upon every article: it would be an unprecedented thing to employ force, for the obtaining any point, until a friendly application has been made and rejected.

Opinion of the Majority.

THE majority of the Board being of opinion, that the Nabob ſhould be again wrote to, to inſiſt on his receiving the intended deputation for treating upon buſineſs; and that Meſſ. Amyatt and Hay ſhould proceed to, and wait his anſwer at Coſſimbuzar.

Reſolution

Reſolution in Conſequence.

AGREED, that the Preſident do addreſs him to the effect expreſſed in his own and Mr. Marriott's minutes, and plainly acquaint him, that a refuſal to comply with the demand therein contained, can be regarded in no other light, than a declaration on his ſide, of his intention to come to a rupture with us."

SECTION XII.

The Deputation of Meſſ. Amyatt and Hay; their Proceedings and other Occurrences, to the Death of Mr. Amyatt.

The Board's Inſtructions to Meſſ. Amyatt *and* Hay.—*Mr.* Vanſittart's *Diſſent.*—Syed Buddul Cawn, *one of the* Nabob's *Officers, ſeized at* Luckypoor, *and ſent to* Calcutta.—*Produces* Mahomed Allee's *Orders.—Orders in Conſequence to the Factory at* Dacca *to ſeize him.—Reaſons for Mr.* Vanſittart's *joining in that Order.—Probable Motives of the* Nabob's *Conduct, in reſpect to* Mahomed

med Allee.—*Remarkable Inſtances of Prepoſſeſſion on the Part of the* Nabob, *and of the Council in two Letters; one from the* Nabob, *and the other from* Coſſimbuzar, *upon falſe Reports.*—*Debate upon the laſt Letter, determined by a ſecond Letter from* Coſſimbuzar. —*Plan of Operations in Caſe of a War.* —*Debate upon the Orders to be ſent to* Patna.——*Letter from the Chief and Council at* Patna, *giving an Account of the Preparations making by the* Nabob's *Officer there.*—*Mr.* Johnſtone's *further Minute, relative to his Accuſation of Mr.* Vanſittart, *of making a private Agreement with the* Nabob.—*Mr.* Vanſittart's *Anſwer.*——*Two Letters from the* Nabob.—*Debate upon them.*—*Reſolution in Conſequence, that Meſſ.* Amyatt *and* Hay *ſhould proceed on their Deputation.*—*Letter from the Chief and Council of* Patna, *containing News of Inſurrections in that Province.*—*Remarks upon it.*—*The* Nabob's *Letter to the Company.*—*Letter from the Chief and Council of* Patna, *complaining of their not being allowed fuller Powers.*—*Remarks upon it.*—Juggutſeet *and his Brother carried Priſoners to the* Nabob. —*The* Nabob's *Reply to Mr.* Vanſittart's

tart's *Remonſtrance in their Behalf.*—Mahomed Allee *ſeized, and ſent to* Calcutta.—*Letter from Meſſ.* Amyatt *and* Hay, *giving an Account of their firſt Interview with the* Nabob.—*Opinion of the* Nabob's *Diſpoſition at this Time.*——*Boats with Arms for* Patna, *ſtopped by the* Nabob *at* Mongheer.—*Mr.* Amyatt *demands their Releaſe without Effect.*—*The* Nabob's *Reaſons for detaining them.*—*Letter from Meſſ.* Amyatt *and* Hay, *with a Copy of their Demands preſented to the* Nabob, *and his Anſwers.*—*Two Letters from Meſſ.* Amyatt *and Hay, adviſing that the Arms were ſtill detained.*—*Two Letters from the* Nabob, *complaining againſt Mr.* Ellis, *and demanding the Removal of our Troops from* Patna.—*Letter from Mr.* Amyatt *to Mr.* Vanſittart, *containing the* Nabob's *Objections to the Demands of the Board.*—*Mr.* Vanſittart's *Opinion upon the further Inſtructions to be ſent to Meſſ.* Amyatt *and* Hay.—*Debate and Reſolutions of the Board.*—*Diſcretional Powers given to the Chief and Council of* Patna.—*Mr.* Haſtings's *Diſſent.*—*Letter from Mr.* Vanſittart *to the Secretary, containing his Objection and further Opinion.*—*Freſh Reſolutions thereupon.*

upon.—Letters from Meſſ. Amyatt *and* Hay, *with their Opinion that a Rupture was unavoidable.——Two Letters from Mr.* Ellis, *giving an Account of the Deſertion of two hundred of our Seepoys.—Other Letters from Meſſ.* Amyatt *and* Hay, *confirming their former.—Further Reſolutions for the Diſpoſition of the Troops in Caſe of a War. Debates concerning the future Government of the Country in ſuch a Caſe.—Letter from Meſſ.* Amyatt *and* Hay, *adviſing of the* Nabob's *Declaration, that he would put an End to the Conference, if we did not recall our Troops from* Patna.—*Letter from Meſſ.* Amyatt *and* Hay, *adviſing that the* Nabob *had releaſed the Boats of Arms, and conſented to treat.—Strong Reports of Hoſtilities begun at* Patna.—*Our Dauks ſtopped.—Two Letters from the* Nabob; *the firſt urging the Removal either of our Troops from* Patna, *or Mr.* Ellis *from the Chiefſhip; the other expreſſing a Conviction, that Mr.* Ellis *was bent upon attacking the City of* Patna, *and that our Correſpondence was come to an End.—The Army ordered to march.—Advice from Mr.* Amyatt, *that he and his Party were ſurrounded, and the Boats*

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of Arms again ſtopped.—Report from Hircarras, that Patna *was taken by our Troops.—Explanation of Mr.* Vanſittart's *Conduct.—His Minute, declaring his Reſolution to quit the Government, as ſoon as the War ſhould be ended.—Further Debates concerning the future Government of the Country.—Reſolution of the Board to re-eſtabliſh* Meer Jaffier. *—Advice from Mr.* Amyatt, *of his having left* Mongheer, *and from* Coſſimbuzar, *of his Party being attacked, and himſelf killed.*

MESS. Amyatt and Hay took their leave of the Board the 4th of April, having received from them the following inſtructions, which were drawn up from the opinions of the majority. And I ſigned them with the reſt of the Board, conforming herein to the eſtabliſhed rule of all the Company's governments; which is, that every member ſhall ſign the public orders and records, entering his diſſent, where he differs from the opinion of the majority in the conſultations. It will be remembered, that I had formerly ſtrongly inſiſted upon the obſervance of this rule, when Meſſ. Amyatt

myatt and Ellis refuſed to ſign the order of the Board, and ſubſcribed their diſſent to them; and it was therefore the more neceſſary I ſhould comply with it on all occaſions myſelf.

Copy of the Inſtructions to Meſſ. Amyatt *and* Hay. *Dated* March 28, 1763.

"FIRST, The trade of our factories on behalf of the Company, as well as the inland trade, carried on by the agents and gomaſtahs of Engliſh merchants, having, for ſome months paſt, met with the greateſt interruptions in all parts of the country, from the officers of the Nabob's government; and this having further proved the ſource of numerous diſputes and complaints on both ſides; we have had under our conſideration the ſettling of certain rules, agreeable to our reſpective rights and pretenſions, whereby to carry on our trade, and be the means of preventing ſuch diſputes from happening in future. In theſe points we have already come to ſome reſolutions, and having the greateſt reliance on your abilities, prudence, and zeal, as well for

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the intereſt of our Honorable Maſters, as for the welfare and good of the community, we have thought proper to depute you, to make known to the Nabob thoſe reſolutions.

SECONDLY, In the firſt place, you muſt again acquaint the Nabob, that the regulations made with him by the Preſident being diſapproved, are of courſe become void, and you are therefore to redemand the letter which contained them. You are alſo to inſiſt, in caſe he has not before iſſued ſuch orders, that he do revoke all the orders which he ſent to his officers, in conſequence of the ſaid regulations; and inform them, that trade is in every reſpect to go on in its uſual channel, until he (the Nabob) has ſettled with you the buſineſs of your deputation.

THIRDLY, Accompanying this, you will receive Engliſh and Perſian copies of the Firmaun, hulbul-hookums and treaties, on which we found our right to a free trade. Theſe we have concluded, give us an indiſputable privilege to carry on our trade, as well foreign as inland, throughout

throughout the provinces of this ſubah, free of any duties to the country government. You muſt therefore carefully and clearly explain to the Naboh the tenor and ſubſtance of theſe grants, and the juſtice that it follows we have on our ſide for abiding thereby.

FOURTHLY, When you have fully aſſerted, and convinced the Naboh of theſe our rights and privileges, you will make known to him the reſolution of the Council the 2d inſtant, for allowing him a duty on ſalt, with our motives thereto. Firſt, becauſe from general informations taken, it appears, that this article has, from cuſtom, always paid a certain tho' unſettled duty. Secondly, becauſe it is not our intention, through a too ſcrupulous aſſertion of our rights, to detriment or diminiſh the revenues of his government; or in any reſpect leſſen to him the advantages reaped at our hands by his predeceſſors. That allowing theſe ſentiments to weigh with us as far as our regard for the intereſts of our Employers and the community, and for the tenor of our ſaid grants, will poſſibly admit,

mit, we have reſolved to allow him (the Nabob) a fixed duty on the article of ſalt, after the rate of two and half *per cent.* on the rowana price; but as we have no grounds for extending this conſideration further, we cannot admit of duties being levied on any other article of trade whatſoever.

FIFTHLY, To aſcertain the payment of this duty, and at the ſame time maintain in its full force the authority of the Engliſh duſtuck, the article of ſalt ſhall be circulated equally with other articles by the means of a duſtuck, and be liable to no farther ſcrutiny or interruption, provided the buxbunder's or ſhahbunder's receipt for the aforementioned duty appears properly granted and entered on the back thereof.

SIXTHLY, For regulating in future the conduct of our agents and gomaſtahs, and the officers and dependents of the Nabob's government, with reſpect to injuries committed on either ſide, and diſputes which may ariſe between them, we have agreed on the following rules, which

which you muſt intimate to the Nabob; and as we think they will every way anſwer the ends propoſed, you muſt acquaint him, that they are therefore to be punctually obſerved*.

SEVENTHLY, The Nabob having lately affected an ignorance of the nature of this government, and the powers of the Council, the Preſident in his anſwer endeavored to ſet him right on that head; but it will ſtill be neceſſary, that you again explain this matter perſonally to him by commiſſion from the Board, that a future pretenſion of the like ignorance may not be the means of detrimenting our affairs.

EIGHTHLY, There further appears, in the courſe of his correſpondence, certain expreſſions, which imply a diffidence of the friendſhip of ſeveral members of the Council towards him. This ill founded ſuſpicion you muſt uſe your moſt ſtrenuous endeavors to remove; and on the contrary to convince him, that we ſhall always, with one voice, agree in every reſpect

* Here were entered the regulations agreed on in conſultation of March 5, in page 1, of this Vol.

reſpect to aſſiſt and ſupport him in his government, provided no attempts are made towards the infringment of our rights and privileges; but that from a juſt obſervation of them, and a ſteady obedience to the repeated orders of our Honorable Employers, we can never tamely put up with attempts that have in the ſmalleſt degree ſuch a tendency.

NINTHLY, With reſpect to the regulations for trade, we think it will be the moſt proper method to have our rights acknowledged, and the propoſals agreed to by ſome public writing, under the Nabob's own hand and ſeal, taking care, that there are no expreſſions inſerted in it, contrary to the ſenſe we entertain of our rights by our former grants or treaties, or that may tend to invalidate them. To ſuch a writing you may accede, reſerving to us the power of finally ratifying the ſame.

TENTHLY, As we think it abſolutely neceſſary, both for the intereſt of our affairs, and the Nabob's, to have a gentleman in the ſervice reſident at his Court,

we have appointed Mr. Tho. Amphlett to accompany you on this deputation, and afterwards remain with the Nabob in that capacity. You will therefore introduce him to the Nabob accordingly; and acquaint him, that all tranſactions between him and us are, after your departure, to be carried on by this reſident; and that all orders which are to be iſſued thro' the country relative to the Engliſh, muſt be firſt intimated to, and approved by him. At your departure you will leave in charge to Mr. Amphlett any part of theſe inſtructions, which you may not be able to finiſh, and give him ſuch further directions as you may think neceſſary.

ELEVENLY, Having had repeated inſtances of the ill diſpoſition, and bad behavior of Mahomed Allee, the collector of the Dacca diſtricts, we have incloſed you a particular proof of it in copies of letters which he wrote to Syed Buddul Cawn; and we muſt deſire that you will inſiſt on his being diſmiſſed from his offices, and obliged to make reparation for all the loſſes he has been the occaſion of

ſince the beginning of theſe diſturbances.

TWELFTHLY, The orders by which we took poſſeſſion of the lands, being only Aumulnamas, we muſt deſire that you will apply to the Nabob for proper jagheery ſunnuds, to confirm the Company's right to the three provinces.

THIRTEENTHLY, You muſt likewiſe demand from the Nabob, payment of a ſum of money, which Mahomed Reza Cawn diſburſed out of the revenues of the Chittagong province, on account of the Tippra expedition; to inſtruct you in which, we have ordered the particulars to be tranſmitted you, by the accomptant of the committee of lands.

FOURTEENTHLY, Since we began to draw up theſe inſtructions, we have received intelligence of the Nabob's having publiſhed a ſunnud, containing an exemption of duties on every kind of trade, for the ſpace of two years. Copies of this ſunnud, and a perwannah which accompanied it to Nobit Roy, the Naib of Patna, you will herewith receive. And

as we are of opinion, that this ſtep is taken with a deſign to prejudice the Company's trading buſineſs, and counteract the meaſures, we have been hitherto taking for the welfare of trade in general, we deſire, that you will inſiſt on the Nabob's revoking that ſunnud, and collecting duties as before.

FIFTEENTHLY, We further tranſmit you copy of a minute entered, on this day's conſultation, by Meſſ. Johnſtone and Hay; and we deſire you will make the inquiry therein recommended."

Additional Inſtructions to Meſſ. Amyatt *and* Hay. *Dated* April 1, 1763.

"THE laſt letters received from the Nabob, having been debated on at the Board, and it being determined, that you ſhall proceed to Coſſimbuzar, and there wait his anſwer to another letter, the Preſident has wrote him; we now addreſs you theſe further inſtructions on ſome points, which have occurred ſince we concluded thoſe before drawn up.

BY

By letters from Patna we are adviſed of the great want they are in of ſiccas, for carrying on the inveſtment, and of the inconvenience and loſs which ariſes from the exchange of money. We have likewiſe often received letters on this ſubject, from Coſſimbuzar and the other factories. We therefore deſire that you will endeavor to prevail on the Nabob, to ſtrike in his mints only one ſpecies of rupees, to be current throughout his government, without any batta, ſo long as they do not diminiſh in weight. But if you cannot effectuate ſuch regulations, you muſt repreſent to the Nabob, in the ſtrongeſt terms, the great impediment which our buſineſs ſuffers, from the backwardneſs of the ſhroffs, to exchange and circulate the Calcutta ſiccas; and therefore get him to iſſue peremptory orders to the ſhroffs and others, for effectuating the currency of the rupees coined in our mint, that our buſineſs may no longer ſuffer ſuch interruptions and loſſes from this ſource; and alſo procure his orders for coining three lacks

of rupees annually in each of the mints of Dacca and Patna, for the ſervice of the factories. We are informed of an attack made on a ſubahdar, and fifty ſeepoys, by a body of the Nabob's troops from Tekarry; for the particulars of the affair, we refer you to the copy of a Patna letter, which you will herewith receive; and we deſire, that you will require ſatisfaction againſt the officer who commanded them, for declaring he had the Nabob's orders, to cut all Engliſh ſeepoys to pieces, wherever they were found; for having the inſolence to propoſe to our party, that he would let them go, if they would deliver up their arms and cloathing; and on their refuſal, for beginning an attack upon them, whereby an havaldar was killed, and four ſeepoys wounded. You muſt further inſiſt, that this ſatisfaction be a public and exemplary puniſhment before you, or elſe, that he be delivered up to us to be tried and puniſhed.

WE likewiſe tranſmit you ſome accounts of loſſes, which certain gentlemen

men have ſuſtained in their trade by the late diſturbances and interruptions, the amount of which, you muſt require of the Nabob, to cauſe his officers to make good; and whatever accounts of the ſame nature may hereafter be received, ſhall likewiſe be forwarded to you."

THE articles concerning our right to an unlimited free trade, appearing to me very unjuſt, I thought proper to enter my diſſent to that part of the inſtructions, which I did as follows.

The Preſident's *Diſſent.*

THE Preſident obſerves, that although he ſigns theſe inſtructions, in conformity to the opinion of the majority of the Board, he diſſents to the third and fourteenth paragraphs, which contain a claim of a right to a free trade in all articles, whether for foreign or inland trade; and orders for inſiſting on the Nabob's revoking the ſunnud, for an exemption of duties, for the reaſons more particularly mentioned in conſultations the 1ſt and 24th of March *."

* Page 385, Vol. II. and page 72, of this Vol.

SOME time before this, Syed Buddul Cawn, the Nabob's officer at Lucky-poor, having placed a guard upon the houſe of one Mahomed Gazy, who had formerly been in the ſervice of the factory, Mr. Middleton, the proviſional chief of the factory, wrote to him, deſiring him to releaſe the man, which Syed Buddul Cawn refuſed, and ſent him a copy of an order, which he had received for that purpoſe, from Mahomed Allee. In this order, beſides the demands of the government upon Mahomed Gazy (againſt which we could have had no objections) this extraordinary reaſon was added, for calling him to an account, that he had been in the Engliſh employ, and was their abettor in their deſigns againſt the government. The inſolence of this expreſſion determined the Board to take the part of Mahomed Gazy; and Mr. Middleton was accordingly directed to ſeize Syed Buddul Cawn, and ſend him to Calcutta; and, at the ſame time, a letter was wrote to the Nabob, inſiſting on his puniſhing Mahomed Allee.

lee. Mr. Middleton, in conſequence of theſe orders, immediately ſeized Syed Buddul Cawn, and ſent him a priſoner to Calcutta, where he arrived the latter end of the month of March. Being brought before the Board he exculpated himſelf, by producing ſeveral letters from Mahomed Allee, the moſt inſolent of which I ſhall here inſert.

From Mahomed Allee *to* Syed Buddul Cawn.

"YOUR agreeable letter is arrived, I fully underſtand the particulars contained therein, and from the hircarra likewiſe, I learned the account of the villainies of the Engliſh in Luckypoor. I have written preſſingly to Aga Mahomed Nizam, and Samadan, and Aumur Sing, and Jungul Sing, to repair all of them with their people unto you. I have alſo ſent perwannahs, with the utmoſt diſpatch, unto the zemindars of Bilwat, Baboopoor, &c. and I have taken engagements from every zemindar's vackeel, about Luckypoor, that their maſ-

ters,

ters, the zemindars, will attend upon you, and act as you ſhall direct them. It behoves you, with the utmoſt diſpatch, to repair thither immediately, and blockade the paſſages for going in and coming out on all ſides of Luckypoor; and place ſtrong centinels, that no perſon whatever may paſs or repaſs to and from Luckypoor, and that a ſoul does not eſcape. Of thoſe who claim the Engliſh protection, and make uſe of their name, take two or three and crucify them, and ſeize their houſes and effects. Lay hold of their wives and children, and ſend them ſtraitway to me. Be ſure not to fail in this reſpect, his excellency having honored me with his orders to this purpoſe, as you muſt be informed from the copy of the Governor's engagement, and of his excellency's perwannah, in conſequence, which I heretofore ſent you; and do not entertain the leaſt diffidence. Regard this my ſhort letter, in the light of a thouſand letters, and act accordingly. Moreover, let guards be placed to keep a good look-out about Luckypoor,

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and the parts adjacent, until the Nabob's orders arrive, when they will proceed to act as I ſhall write to you. At preſent ſurround it on all ſides, and keep a conſtant watch.

You will take extraordinary good care of the Europeans at Luckypoor, that they get no intelligence from any of their dependents, either by land or water; and for ſecurity you will ſend 200 men, with a commander, whom you can rely upon, and direct them, above all things, to be ready for action both night and day."

SUCH a declaration of his inveteracy to the Engliſh, as was expreſſed in theſe letters of Mahomed Allee's, and the many inſtances which he had given of it throughout his whole conduct, from his firſt appointment, juſtly excited the indignation of the whole Board. The moſt violent readily ſeized this occaſion, to infer a fixed reſolution in the Nabob to break with us; and that the appointment of ſuch a man as Mahomed Allee, with ſuch extraordinary powers, and his

conduct

conduct in the execution of them, were only in conſequence of that reſolution. It was therefore warmly urged to prevent the Nabob's deſigns, by declaring immediate war againſt him.

THIS ſentiment, however, was oppoſed by a majority of the Board, who judged it moſt proper, in the preſent circumſtances, to regard the inſults as proceeding perſonally from Mahomed Allee, and to chaſtize him for it ourſelves; ſince the Nabob, to whom we had repeatedly complained againſt him, had hitherto afforded us no redreſs; and that the Chief and Council at Dacca ſhould be ordered to ſeize, and ſend him down priſoner to Calcutta.

IN this alternative I eaſily joined, as well in the hopes of yet preventing a ruinous and unjuſtifiable war, as from the conviction of the violent and incendiary ſpirit of Mahomed Allee; who, if ſuffered to act longer with impunity, I ſaw would put it out of my power, or even of the Nabob's, to preſerve peace between us. It is true, that the Nabob, in anſwer

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to the demand of the Board for his diſmiſſion, declared, that he had removed him from his employment, and ſummoned him to his preſence; but as he ſtill continued at Dacca, and the Nabob had always endeavoured to vindicate his conduct, it was much to be feared, that he would not only eſcape the puniſhment he deſerved, but perhaps be continued in his authority, and have his hands ſtrengthened with ſuch freſh powers, as might make it dangerous to attempt afterwards to call him to an account. The Nabob's behaviour upon this occaſion may be eaſily accounted for, from the precarious ſituation in which he ſtood with the Engliſh. When I was with him at Mongheer he aſſured me, that if the complaints which were then alledged againſt Mahomed Allee upon enquiry proved true, he would both diſmiſs him from his ſervice, and ſeverely puniſh him. The ſame aſſurance he gave me with reſpect to Sheer Allee, the fougedar of Poorneea, who had been guilty of the like enmity and miſbehaviour to the Engliſh

liſh dependents in that diſtrict, and it is very probable, that he was ſincere in this declaration at that time, ſince his intereſt was moſt materially concerned in removing every cauſe of diſagreement from between us. But when he perceived the ſtrong oppoſition, formed againſt him by the general aſſembly of the Council, and that the deſign of his enemies was levelled openly againſt his perſon and government, it is not to be wondered at, that he ſhould be cautious of depriving himſelf of the aſſiſtance of perſons the moſt capable of ſerving him, and on whoſe zeal he had ſo much reaſon to depend in caſe of a rupture with the Engliſh. In a word, it appears from the Nabob's whole behaviour, from the time that the general Council was aſſembled, that he believed his own ruin to be the object of that aſſembly; and every ſtep taken by the Board, ſerved but to confirm him the more ſtrongly in that fatal perſuaſion. Fatal I call it, ſince with ſuch a mutual diſtruſt every accident, however trifling, was eaſily conſtrued into an intentional

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act of hoſtility; and even the neceſſary precautions of ſelf-defence ſerved but to make the breach irreparable. I believe it will be needleſs to point out inſtances of the effects of theſe prepoſſeſſions, amongſt the many which occur in the minutes of the Council, and the Nabob's letters which I have already inſerted. To the latter I ſhall add one, as it ſhews how eaſily the Nabob was led away by every groundleſs report, and how naturally his apprehenſions diſpoſed him to co-operate with the very meaſures which tended to an open rupture.

Copy of a Letter from the Nabob *to the Governor. Dated* April 15, 1763.

"I HAVE to this time repoſed an entire confidence in your friendſhip, but I never ſuſpected, that you would write me letters filled with profeſſions of friendſhip and attachment; and whilſt I remained in ſecurity, truſting to your declaration, that you would have diſpatched your forces in ſeveral diviſions by land and water, and thro' the hills and woods, with

with guns and artillery, to theſe parts. This kind of proceeding I do not underſtand. I before repeatedly wrote to you, that I was unequal to this buſineſs. You would not agree to it, and now that ſuch meaſures are taken, what ſort of dealing is this? As to Mr. Amyatt's coming, which you wrote about before, I have no objection. Recall all your troops, that you have diſpatched by every road towards this way, and let Mr. Amyatt proceed hither, in the ſame manner that you came to viſit me; and after his arrival, I will behave to him as becomes me. If you conſent not to this, and refuſe to recall your forces, and are obſtinately bent upon my diſhonour, I am without remedy. Let me have your anſwer to this letter, which I wait for, for it is every man's duty to take care of his honour."

AT this time not a ſoldier had moved from his quarters; nor could I ever gueſs from whence the Nabob took up this groundleſs alarm. It can be attributed only to a prepoſſeſſion of the mind, which

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will ſometimes give the appearance of reality to any phantom of the imagination.

THE following hiſtory occuring in the ſame order of time, aptly illuſtrates the truth of the above obſervation, and proves, that if the Nabob's fears led him to believe every idle report of deſigns that had no exiſtence, either in fact or probability, our faith was at leaſt as active as his, whether fear, or the zeal of party ſpirit, impelled and gave life to it. It is ſcarcely conceivable, that any perſons ſhould be ſo blindly prejudiced, as to give entire credit to a ſtory, of the Nabob's having ordered all the mulberry-trees, and cotton-ſhrubs in his country, to be rooted up, from no other motive, than a mere ſpite to the Engliſh, and to deprive them of the benefits which they enjoyed in common with other merchants in the products of thoſe plants: yet ſo great was the eagerneſs of ſeveral members of the Board, to catch at every report that tended to the Nabob's prejudice, that ſuch an abſurdity was readily believed, and the moſt violent meaſures propoſed

in conſequence, as will appear by the following papers.

Extract of Conſultation of April 12, *(preſent Meſſ.* Vanſittart, Batſon, Cartier, Marriott *and* Watts.)

Mr. Batſon's *Minute.*

"MR. BATSON lays before the Board the following letter from Mr. Chambers * at Coſſimbuzar.

To Stanlake Batſon, *Eſq;*

SIR, April 3, 1763.

"THE many daily occurrences here "and reports convince me, our trade "and every thing will ſpeedily be put a "ſtop to, if ſome meaſures are not taken "to prevent it. There is an order paſſ-"ed for deſtroying all the mulberry-"trees in the country, and they have "actually commenced putting it in ex-"ecution; ſo that we can expect no ſilk "or ſilk piece-goods for the enſuing year, "if it is not put an immediate ſtop to. "I hear there is the ſame order con-"cerning

* Mr. Chambers was the ſecond of the factory of Coſſimbuzar, and had charge of it during Mr. Batſon's abſence.

" cerning all the cotton plants, which
" will be as detrimental to the white cloth
" trade. It is publickly talked at the
" city, that the Nabob is determined to
" get rid of us one way or other; that
" he has money enough to pay his troops
" longer than we ſhall be able to ſtay in
" the country without trade; for which
" reaſon he will deſtroy all the produce
" of the country, which may furniſh
" trade; for it's all one to him, whe-
" ther we are in the country or not, if
" we won't pay him any duties; and he
" will either oblige us to do that, or
" quit the country.

" SEVERAL parties of horſe and foot
" have arrived at the city, within theſe
" two or three days, and great prepara-
" tions are making for defence, in caſe
" our army comes this way, as it is re-
" ported they are coming, and that they
" had marched a little way, and were re-
" called. I thought it proper to acquaint
" you of the order concerning the mul-
" berry-trees and cotton, as I think the
" Governor and Council ſhould be ac-

"quainted therewith, by which they "will perceive how our trade is likely "to be deſtroyed. The tomtoms have "actually been about with the orders, "and ſeveral people ſent to deſtroy all "the mulberry fields. Should you think "with me it is neceſſary to acquaint the "Board with theſe things, I ſhall be o-"bliged to you, if you will acquaint "me with the reſult. I am, &c.

"Signed John Chambers.

"P. S. I think it would be highly "neceſſary to have a few more ſeepoys "at this factory. Reports run very "high and inſolent, and I believe was "the army to march, we ſhould be ſur-"rounded at this factory, and there-"fore ſhould be glad to have a few ſee-"poys to defend ourſelves. The arms "of the ſeepoys here are very bad, I "wiſh you would apply for ſome."

HE (Mr. Batſon) alſo acquaints the Board, that immediately on the receipt of this letter, he wrote an anſwer, agreeable to the opinion of the members

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of the Council then in Calcutta, deſiring Mr. Chambers, if the intelligence he had given him was certain, to confirm the ſame in a letter to the Board, that they might take their reſolutions accordingly.

RECEIVED a letter from Mr. Chambers, dated the 9th, acquainting us, in conſequence of Mr. Batſon's letter to him, that it is beyond all diſpute, that tomtoms have been beat in ſeveral places by order of the zilladars, who pretend to have received orders from the Nabob, to take up all the mulberry-trees on both ſides of the great river; but he cannot ſay for certain, that they have yet put it in execution.

The Preſident's *Opinion in Conſequence of theſe Letters.*

As the intelligence, contained in the publick letter, differs in ſome particulars from what Mr. Chambers before wrote to Mr. Batſon, the Preſident is of opinion, that Mr. Chambers ſhould be directed to acquaint the Board, from whence he got his intelligence, regard-

ing the mulberry-trees; and to enquire in the name of the Board, from Syed Mahomed Cawn, whether he has received letters from the Nabob to this effect; if he has, to require from him a copy of ſuch orders, or endeavor by any other means to procure a copy, and tranſmit it to us.

Mr. Watts's Opinion.

MR. WATTS thinks, that the certainty of what Mr. Chambers informs the Board, in his letter of the 9th inſtant, ought not to be doubted; eſpecially, as he had made an inquiry into the affair, at the requeſt of the majority of the Board; that the general behavior of the Nabob has been, and continues to be ſuch, that further application to himſelf or officers, on any points whatſoever, ought as much as poſſible to be avoided; but eſpecially in this caſe, as Syed Mahomed Cawn muſt know, that this information muſt come from our Chief and Council at Coſſimbuzar; and conſequently our doubting the truth of it, muſt leſſen the credit of that Board

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in his eyes. Mr. Watts further thinks, that Mr. Chambers may be wrote to, directing him to endeavor to procure copies of the ſunnuds and perwannahs, that may have been ſent down from the Nabob on this ſubject, or any other proofs he may be able to get.

Mr. Marriott's *Opinion.*

MR. MARRIOTT agrees in opinion with the Preſident.

Mr. Johnſtone's *Opinion.*

MR. JOHNSTONE does not think it of any conſequence to make this further enquiry, as Mr. Chambers having been wrote to at the deſire of the majority of the members then in Calcutta, may be ſuppoſed to have ſatisfied himſelf of the truth of what he now publickly informs the Board; nor would Syed Mahomed Cawn's denying to have received ſuch an order, be any proof of the tom-toms not having been beat. Further, becauſe he thinks the other * pieces of

* That the Nabob had ſent bodies of troops to different parts of the country, and was buſy in warlike preparations.

intelligence, which Mr. Chambers gave us in his letter, may incline us more implicitly to the belief of this, and the certainty of the Nabob's intentions againſt us, which we muſt hear from Meſſ. Amyatt and Hay, before any anſwer could come from Mr. Chambers.

Mr. Cartier's *Opinion.*

MR. CARTIER thinks it would be proper to direct Mr. Chambers to enquire of Syed Mahomed Cawn, whether he has received ſuch an order from the Nabob, and to endeavor to get a copy of it.

Mr. Batſon's *Opinion.*

MR. BATSON cannot doubt, but the proclamation concerning cutting down the mulberry-trees was actually made; and he thinks, the Preſident's ſeeming ſtill to doubt it, and deſiring a further enquiry to be made for the confirmation of it, is with a deſign to diſcourage Mr. Chambers from ſending us intelligence, agreeable to his practice, in regard to the intelligence, which he (Mr. Batſon) formerly ſent down in ſeveral of

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the Nabob's and Petrus's letters *.

The Opinion of the Majority, and Reſolution in Conſequence.

"THE majority of the Board being of the Preſident's opinion. Agreed, Mr. Chambers be wrote to accordingly."

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* As the reflection contained in the latter part of Mr. Batſon's minute, will be judged to have required ſome reply, I ſhall here inſert an extract of the minute which followed, tho' foreign from the ſubject in hand; this may ſerve for one inſtance of the ſcandalous and indecent behavior, which by the intemperance of ſome of the members, and the ready connivance of the reſt, had taken place in our Councils.

The Preſident's *Queſtion to Mr.* Batſon.

"The Preſident deſires Mr. Batſon may be aſked, whether by ſeveral of the Nabob's and Petrus's letters, he means thoſe copies of † Perſian letters, ſaid to be the Nabob's and Petrus's, read in conſultation the 4th of March, 1762, and which after proſecuting the enquiry for ſeveral months with the utmoſt attention, the Board judged to be not authentick.

Mr. Batſon's *Anſwer.*

Mr. Batſon anſwers, it is thoſe letters he means, and he doth not find, on peruſing the proceedings, that the Board did think them not authentick; and as the Preſident has ſolemnly declared, that he knows

† Page 17, Vol. II.

A FEW days after the following anſwer was received.

Copy of a Letter from Mr. Chambers *to the Governor and Council. Dated* April 16, 1763.

"YOUR favor of the 12th inſtant I "have duly received, in anſwer to "your knows nothing of Cawn Bahadre's coming to Calcutta, as related in that correſpondence, he deſires him to confirm the ſame by oath, otherwiſe he (Mr. Batſon) ſhall continue to look on his declaration as falſe.

The Preſident's *Reply.*

Altho' the Preſident thinks it a very improper method of proceeding, that any member of the Board ſhould be put to his oath on any occaſion, excepting where the law requires it; and that the word of every member of the Board ſhould be regarded as an oath; yet for the ſatisfaction of the Company, in a matter where their intereſt is ſo much concerned, and in which Mr. Batſon has called his (the Preſident's) honor ſo much in queſtion, he deſires he may be put to his oath before the Board.

The Preſident's *Oath.*

I do ſolemnly ſwear, that I never to my knowledge ſaw or heard of a man, known by the name of Cawn Bahadre; nor did any man ever make to me ſuch a propoſal, nor did I ever hear of ſuch a propoſal, as he is ſaid to have been commiſſioned with, until the copies of the Perſian letters were received from Mr. Batſon.

" your queſtion, from whence I had my
" intelligence; I can only ſay from the
" vackeel Kiſſenindee, and ſeveral other
" merchants, who, on hearing the re-
" port, acquainted me with it, as did
" alſo a conſiderable dealer in that arti-
" cle, who ſays, he was told, that in five
" days the mulberry-trees muſt be all ta-
" ken up; but he has heard nothing
" ſince, and I believe it was only a falſe
" report, occaſioned, as I have ſince
" learnt, from a cuſtom of tranſplanting
" once in two or three years. I aſked
" Syed Mahomed Cawn concerning the
" order; he ſays, he has received no ſuch,
" nor given any. I have requeſted of
" him to endeavor to find out the perſons
" who ſpread the report, and to puniſh
" them. The report was not only here,
" but on the other ſide the great river.
" It will be impoſſible for me to trace it
" to the foundation; I have uſed already
" every method in my power, but in vain."

NOTWITHSTANDING the propoſed negotiation, the Board judged it expedi-

ent

ent to take early precautions, in caſe it ſhould not be attended with ſucceſs, by forming a plan for the operations of the war. The reſolutions upon this ſubject I ſhall enter at large, and the debates which followed them. I cannot paſs by the latter, without taking notice of the propoſal made by Mr. Johnſtone, and ſupported by Mr. Batſon, for authorizing the gentlemen at Patna, to begin the war upon the bare appearances of an hoſtile intention in the Nabob. The ſentiments of Mr. Ellis were too well known, to leave it a doubt, that he would inſtantly avail himſelf of ſuch a power, to declare an open rupture, which might have been juſtified even by the report of a common hircarra, or any pretence as looſe, which he might think ſufficient (ſince he was the judge) to conſtrue into an hoſtile intention in the Nabob. It will be found, that when ſuch a power was afterwards lodged in his hands, ſuch was actually the conſequence.

Extract

Extract of Conſultation, April 14, 1763.
(*Preſent Meſſ.* Vanſittart, Adams, Batſon, Billers, Cartier, Haſtings, Johnſtone, Marriott *and* Watts.)

"ALTHO' it is to be hoped, that the diſputes with the Nabob will yet come to an amicable iſſue, it is thought neceſſary to be prepared with a plan of operations, which may be moſt expedient to inſure ſucceſs, in caſe of a contrary event.

IT is therefore reſolved,

FIRST, That in caſe of a rupture with the Nabob, and the Nabob ſhould march towards Patna, in order to attack our troops and factory there, they ſhall endeavour to poſſeſs themſelves of the city, if they think they can accompliſh it without much loſs, and there remain, until they ſhall receive further orders from us or major Adams. But if they ſhould think that by attacking the city, they run a riſque of failing in the attempt, or of loſing many men, they muſt then take ſuch poſt, as they think they can beſt defend themſelves in; and if they can, cover the factory, until they ſhall receive further

further orders, as above-mentioned; that in either caſe, they muſt be careful to ſecure all the proviſions they can of every kind, and alſo draught and carriage bullocks.

SECONDLY, That in caſe of a rupture with the Nabob, and he ſhould remain at Mongheer, the Patna party ſhall act as in the firſt caſe.

THIRDLY, That in caſe of a rupture, and the Nabob marches down this way, the Patna party ſhall, after attacking and poſſeſſing themſelves of the city, move down as far as Ruinulla, to be in greater readineſs to join major Adams, and there wait for orders from major Adams, unleſs from an alteration of circumſtances, their own diſcretion ſhall direct them to act otherwiſe.

THAT in any of the foregoing caſes, theſe are our preſent thoughts; but that we do not mean by ſuch a plan, to reſtrict them from taking any advantage that may offer, in caſe of a rupture declared.

THIS plan being ſettled for the Patna party,

party, in caſe of a rupture, the queſtion is put,

How they ſhall be informed of a rupture, or what they ſhall conſtrue as ſuch?

Mr. Johnſtone's *Opinion.*

MR. JOHNSTONE thinks, the Nabob's ſtopping our communication by letter, and moving, in conſequence, with his army and artillery towards Patna, when there is no other enemy in the country adjacent, againſt whom he may have cauſe to move, or it ought, in reaſon, to be believed, that he directs his march, or the march of his army, this way, attended by any correſpondent acts of hoſtility of his forces ſtationed at or round Patna, ſuch as ſtopping their proviſions and communication with the country, or oppoſing our people in the execution of their buſineſs, might, in the preſent circumſtances, be conſtrued by them as a rupture, and that they might immediately proceed to act as directed in the plan.

The Preſident's *Opinion.*

THE Preſident thinks Mr. Johnſtone's propoſal is extremely vague, and leaves

it

it in the power of the gentlemen at Patna, by an error in judgment, to involve us in a war which we would rather avoid, and therefore would propoſe, that the orders to the gentlemen at Patna ſhould be after this manner: "That "they will be inſtantly informed by us, "if we ſhould be obliged to declare a "rupture with the Nabob, and that, "therefore, they muſt wait for ſuch in- "formation, before they act upon the "plan laid down, keeping, in the mean "time, well on their guard, and de- "fending themſelves and the Compa- "ny's rights againſt all attacks." That he propoſes theſe limited orders the rather, becauſe he looks upon the party at Patna to be of ſuch ſtrength *, as to run no riſk from any attack of the Nabob.

THE queſtion being put to the reſt of the Board, which of theſe opinions ſhould be adopted.

Mr. Watts's, *&c. Opinion.*

MESS. WATTS, Marriott, Haſtings, Cartier and Billers, agree to the Preſi- dent's.

* See the return annexed.

Mr.

A Monthly Return of the Hon.ble COMPANY's TROOPS, under the Command of Captain Peter Carstairs at Patna, 30th April 1763.

COMPANIES	Officers: Commissioned: Captains	Capt. Lieut.s	Lieutenants	Ensigns	Staff: Adjutants	Qr. Masters	Surgeons	Cadets	Serjeants: Fit for duty	Sick	Drums: Fit for duty	Sick	Effective Rank & File: Fit for duty	Sick	Total	Total non-Commissioned & private
Captain Carstairs's Company	1		1	2			1	1	3	1	3		43	5	48	55
Capt. Foecher's ..... Do.	1		1	2	1				4		3		42	6	48	55
Capt. Perry's ..... Do.	1		1	1		1			4		3		45	3	48	55
Capt. Summers's Do.	1		1	2					4		3		42	6	48	55
Total	4		4	7	1	1	1	1	15	1	12		172	20	192	220

N.B. A Serjeant and One private of Captain Summers's Company absent on Furlow at Calcutta included.

ARTILLERY	Officers: Commissioned: Captain	1st Lieut.t	Staff: Commissary	Adjutant	Serjeants: Fit for duty	Sick	Corporals: Fit for duty	Sick	Drums: Fit for duty	Sick	Bombardiers: Fit for duty	Sick	Gunners: Fit for duty	Sick	Matrosses: Fit for duty	Sick	Total non commissioned & private
	1	4	1	1	3		3		2		4		9	1	35	2	57

SEEPOYS

Battalions	European Officers: Commissioned: Captains	Lieutenants	Ensigns	Staff &c not commissioned: Adjutants	Serjeants	as Commissioned Officers: Fit for Duty: Subahdars	Tematdars	Sick: Subadar	Tematdars	Total Officers	Drums and Trumpets: Fit for Duty: Drums	Trumpets	Sick: Drums	Trumpets	Total Drums & Trumpets	Effective Rank and File: Fit for Duty: Havildars	Matrs & Sepoys	Sick: Havildars	Matrs & Sepoys	Total Rank and File	Total including Officers	Commandants	Black Adjutants	Lascars	Linguists	Writers	Watermen	Black Doctors	Armourers
2d.	1	1	1	1	4	9	24		3	36	26	9	1		36	61	929	3	25	1018	1090	1	1	9	1	1	9	3	4
3d.	1	1	1	1	4	9	26	1		36	27	8		1	36	64	911		43	1018	1090	1	1	9	1	1	9	3	4
5th.	1			1	2	4	12			16	12	4			16	27	461	1	8	497	529	1		4	1	1	4	2	2
Total	3	2	2	3	10	22	62	1	3	88	65	21	1	1	88	152	2301	4	76	2533	2709	3	2	22	3	3	22	8	10

Signed Peter Carstairs, Capt.n in the Company's Infantry.

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J. Ellis fecit.

Mr. Batſon's Opinion.

MR. BATSON is of Mr. Johnſtone's opinion, becauſe, after the Nabob has once commenced hoſtilities againſt us, the tying up our party at Patna, from acting on the offenſive, as well as the defenſive, will give him an advantage, and ſubject us to a diſadvantage in caſes of exigency that may happen.

Major Adams's *Opinion.*

MAJOR ADAMS thinks the gentlemen at Patna ought not to commence hoſtilities without the orders of the Board, but that, ſhould the Nabob march a large force towards Patna, without any apparent reaſon, or otherwiſe commit any act of hoſtility, they ſhould take any ſtep for their own ſecurity, even to the taking of the city of Patna, if it ſhould be deemed abſolutely neceſſary, and there defend themſelves without proceeding further, until they receive the orders of the Board.

Opinion of the Majority and Reſolution in Conſequence.

THE majority of the Board being of the Preſident's opinion.

AGREED, That we write to Patna, and tranſmit them a copy of theſe reſolutions for their government.

Mr. Johnſtone's Diſſent.

MR. JOHNSTONE begs leave to diſſent from this reſolution of the majority, ordered to be tranſmitted to Patna, becauſe, he thinks the reſtraining the gentlemen there from acting offenſively, till they have notice from hence of our declaring a breach with the Nabob, although he may proceed to direct open acts of hoſtility againſt them, is giving the Nabob all the advantages he could deſire, ſhould his reſolution be to attack that detachment; the firſt, in hopes of overpowering it before our army can arrive to its aſſiſtance. The very intention of our council, Mr. Johnſtone underſtood, was to prevent the ill-conſequences that might attend a ſtoppage of our correſpondence by letter, by the Patna party not having directions how to act, in caſe the Nabob began hoſtilities, and prevented our intelligence by removing the dauks, and ſtopping all letters; ſhould the Nabob march towards Patna, we can expect no

notice

notice of it but from the chief there, which, as the dauks will of courſe be removed, may very probably not reach us in leſs than ten or twelve days; as many more may elapſe before they receive the Board's declaration of a rupture, by which they are tied up at leaſt twenty days, not to attempt any thing againſt the Nabob, or the city of Patna, though their only hope of taking it, depends on their attempting it before the Nabob can reach it; and their circumſtances, in regard to proviſion, and in many other reſpects may be ſuch, as that their preſervation may greatly depend on their carrying it. In war, to prevent and defeat the deſigns of an enemy, is allowed to be juſt as well as prudent; but this liberty, ſo eſſential to ſelf-preſervation, is denied to our fellow-ſervants, though ever ſo fair occaſion may offer. Mr. Johnſtone is not more for their declaring war and beginning hoſtilities the firſt, than any other gentlemen at the Board; but he thinks it ought, and may be very reaſonably left to the prudence of the gentlemen at

Patna, to judge what are open acts of hoſtility on the part of the Nabob, who is already armed and bids us defiance.

Further Proceedings of the Board.

IT is further reſolved,

THAT if a rupture does happen, major Adams ſhall march with the King's regiment, and all the Company's troops at Gherettee and Calcutta; captain Broadbrook's and Maclean's battalions of ſepoys compleated, alſo captain Champion's company of military from Jellaſore, together with the following artillery, viz. two twelve-pounders, ſix ſix-pounders, and two howitzers. The major is, therefore, deſired to make the neceſſary liſts of ſtores accordingly. And it is further reſolved, That ſeven companies of ſepoys from Jellaſore, and three from Burdwan, ſhall, in ſuch caſe, be ordered to Calcutta to compleat the two battalions, to go with major Adams, and ſerve for the duties of the Preſidency."

ON the 18th, we received the following letter from Mr. Ellis and his council, dated March 5, 1763, which will ſhew how

how ſtrongly the report prevailed, that our forces at Patna would attack the city, ſince the Nabob's officer commanding there, thought it neceſſary to take ſuch extraordinary precautions for the defence of it. It will ſhew alſo, in how much contempt they held the Nabob and his forces at this time; although they could afterwards exaggerate them as much, when it ſerved as an argument to ſupport their application, for a power to act as they thought proper.

Letter from Patna.

"YOUR favour of the 24th ultimo, we received the 2d inſtant, and immediately diſpatched the letter incloſed therein to the Nabob. As far as we can judge, he inclines not to pacifick meaſures; for ſince the receipt of your letters of the 7th and 10th ultimo, he has been conſtantly ſending troops into this city; the commanders of his forces in different parts of the country hereabouts, are under orders to aſſemble at Patna, and ſome of them are actually in

motion, by which it ſeems as if he intended a blow at this party; on that head, however, we are perfectly eaſy, but under the deepeſt concern for the fate of the city, which we are hourly apprehenſive will be plundered by the licentious, undiſciplined rabble within its walls. The ſuburbs are already entirely deſtroyed, and the wretched ſituation of people of all ranks, is more eaſy to conceive than deſcribe.

MEER MINDY CAWN is the name of the perſon whom the Nabob has appointed his naib here, but to this time he has not paid the chief the uſual compliment of acquainting him with his arrival; he carries on the preparations for attack or defence (for as yet we know not which to call them) with more vigor than his predeceſſor, and thereby adds to the terror and alarm of the inhabitants. The night before laſt, the whole of his people were under arms till the morning; great part of yeſterday the gates were kept ſhut, and the relief of our hoſpital guard refuſued admittance; upon which, the chief

wrote

wrote him a letter; a copy of it we now incloſe, as likewiſe of his anſwer. The guard has been ſince admitted, but the burbunna gate ſtill remains ſhut.

IT is commonly talked, that the Nabob has ſent this Mindy Cawn to drive out the Engliſh; but you will judge that there is not much danger to be apprehended from a man, whoſe talent ſeems chiefly to lie in ſounding his own praiſes. His inſolence may, however, reduce us to the diſagreeable neceſſity of taking the city from him. With the greateſt difficulty, we have collected money ſufficient to pay our Europeans for this month, and our ſeepoys for March; and have not, at this time, a ſingle rupee in caſh; we therefore requeſt you will take the moſt ſpeedy method of ſupplying us."

MR. JOHNSTONE, who had already* interrupted the publick buſineſs by perſonal reflections on me, for the diſtinction made by the Nabob in his letter to Mahomed Allee, of the Company's duſ-

* See page 77, of this Vol.

tuck and my own; reſumed the ſame ſubject in the following minute, in the conſultation of the 18th, to which I ſhall ſubjoin my reply.

Extract of Conſultation of April 18, 1763.

Mr. Johnſtone's *Minute.*

"MR. JOHNSTONE begs leave to remark, in anſwer to the Preſident's minute of the 28th of March, that the true tranſlation of the paragraph of the Nabob's letter, to Mahomed Allee, No. 29, hereto ſubjoined, done by Mr. Gulſton, is very different from that which Mr. Vanſittart appeals to, and ſtands entered in the country correſpondence, and which Mr. Johnſtone objected to at that time, though by not then being able to get the original, it could not be altered. The very letter produced by the Preſident, which though wrote after the appearance of his order of the Nabob's, he would refer to as a proof, that no agreement of this kind had ever been mentioned betwixt him and the Nabob, plainly and expreſsly declares the ſame

ſenſe

ſenſe of the paragraph that we have followed, referring to the gomaſtahs of Mr. Vanſittart's private buſineſs, who might have either the Company's, or his own private duſtuck, that they ſhould not be impeded further.

IT does not appear from any line in the Nabob's letter, that the Governor's trade was ſtopped, nor any inſtance or place referred to, which would have been the caſe; and particularized, it may be ſuppoſed, as well in regard to them, as to his particular gomaſtah Coja Wannis.

BY this, and many other of the Nabob's publick letters and orders, it appears, he conſidered and directed nine *per cent.* to be levied on whatever goods are purchaſed, being the produce of this country, without regard to their being for exportation or inland trade."

Extract of the Nabob's *Letter (delivered in by Mr.* Johnſtone.)

"THE Governor writes to me, that "you interrupt his own gomaſ-"tah; notwithſtanding in the paper of "regula-

"regulations, there is no diſtinction of "private and publick. Yet, as the Go- "vernor is my friend, I accordingly "write to you, not to impede the go- "maſtah of his private trade, that may "have with him either the Governor's "or Company's duſtuck."

The Preſident's *Reply.*

IN anſwer to Mr. Johnſtone's further minute, I obſerve, that the only difference between Mr. Rogers's tranſlation of the poſtſcript of the Nabob's letter to Mahomed Allee, and Mr. Gulſton's *, is, that in the firſt it ſtands *the gomaſtah*, in the other *the ſaid gomaſtah*; but whether the Nabob's intention was general, or particular, all that I aſſert, is, that I never deſired, nor would accept of any privilege, for my gomaſtahs, over thoſe of

* See Mr. Rogers's tranſlation, page 1, of this Vol. Mr. Gulſton's is the above extract, delivered in by Mr. Johnſtone, who thinks proper to produce that part only of the Nabob's letter, becauſe in the beginning of the very ſame letter, it appears, that the trade in queſtion, which Mahomed Allee had ſtopped, belonging to me, was a part of thirty bales of cloth, provided for me with the Company's duſtuck.

of the reſt of the gentlemen in the ſervice; and that I never ſealed duſtucks with any other than the Company's uſual duſtuck ſeal. My letter to the Nabob, No. I. dated January 24, contained the complaint I mentioned, of two parcels of my own goods being ſtopped, with the Company's duſtuck, under the charge of Ramnaut Holdar, and Coja Aſkaſuk, belonging to Coja Wannis; and it was in conſequence of that complaint, the Nabob ſent the orders in queſtion to Mahomed Allee, in which the complaint of Coja Aſkaſuk, and Coja Wannis is particularly noticed. As ſoon as I got a ſight of theſe orders, I wrote the Nabob, as by the extract entered in conſultation the 28th of March, to let him ſee that I did not mean to have any particular indulgence for my own gomaſtahs, but expected equal juſtice with others."

MESSIEURS Amyatt and Hay remained ſome time at Coſſimbuzar, waiting for the Nabob's approbation of their viſit to proceed. His anſwer arrived on the 20th,

20th, and ſignified, tho' reluctantly, his conſent to receive the deputation. This letter, and one received ſome days before, being laid before the Board, it was determined by the majority, after a long debate, that Meſſ. Amyatt and Hay ſhould proceed. The Nabob's letters, and the debates upon the ſubject, I ſhall enter as follows.

Copy of a Letter from the Nabob *to the Governor. Dated* April 2, 1763.

"I HAVE been favored with your letter of the 24th of March. I did not expect, that while I was going to take another country you would ſend troops into mine. You ſome time ago wrote to me, while I was at Beteea, that the buſineſs of the country, in the diſtricts was obſtructed; and that you ſhould ſend people to prevent it; but you did not write that you would ſeize and carry away my aumils, and diſgrace them. I do not write anſwers to Mr. Ellis's letters on this account, becauſe, from the beginning, he had one meaning in his mouth,

mouth, and another in his heart; and acted contrary to what he wrote, as in the affair of the opium, where he took a bond from all the merchants, by which he was to purchaſe it himſelf; and for this Mr. Ellis wrote to Nobit Roy. But concerning the ſalt petre, which is the Company's own buſineſs, he wrote nothing, nor did he aſk any queſtions relative to it; but at once ſent ſeepoys, and ſeized the aumil of Taajepoor, whom he accuſed of impeding the ſalt petre, and carried him away bound. As the ſalt petre buſineſs is of the greateſt importance, it was proper, that he ſhould write in the ſame manner as he did about the opium. When ſeepoys were ſent, Rajah Nobit Roy ſent his Chubdar to him, to know on what buſineſs they were going into the perganahs. Mr. Ellis anſwered, that when they returned from their buſineſs, he would know. A copy of Nobit Roy's letter I incloſe. If any one had refuſed to liſten to him, then he might have ſent people to prevent his buſineſs being obſtructed, not to bind and

carry

carry away my officers. I before wrote you, that I was coming to Rajemahl, and would act according to your directions; but not regarding this, you ſent people to the diſtricts, and created diſturbances. Unable to help myſelf, I have taken off all duties.

IF notwithſtanding this, you ſend people to the perganahs, I ſhall doubtleſs imagine you have another ally in view.

WITH regard to your ſending Mr. Amyatt, I before wrote, that of mercantile affairs, nothing is left to be ſettled. I have now only the revenues of a ſmall parcel of land. If you ſend him to regulate this, let me know. As to mercantile affairs, I have relinquiſhed every thing, and nothing remains for him to negotiate. In future, ſhould you have any thing to do in reſpect to the revenues of the country, do it with ſome other perſon.

IN regard to the expreſſion of *ſervants and men of low condition*, which is thought to reflect on the gentlemen of Council. Hitherto I have had no knowledge of the gentlemen of the Council. The ſervants

vants and men of low condition, are whatever perſons make a difference between the reputation and buſineſs of the Company and mine, and endeavor to create a diſturbance and diſputes between us, and what can be more plain and expreſs than this? In a place where one man, or letter of yours, would be ſufficient to clear your buſineſs, and carry it on in a proper manner there, to ſend ſeepoys (ſervants and men of low condition) and companies of ſeepoys, to take my officers and carry them away bound, and do their utmoſt to make a diſturbance between you and me. Conſider, Sir, whether this is a proceeding of men of low character, or of men of rank and dignity."

Copy of a Letter from the Nabob *to the Governor. Dated* April 11, 1763.

"I HAVE received your friendly letter, in which you write me, that "if "you and the gentlemen of Council "were inclined to bring on a rupture, "the diſputes and hoſtile proceedings "in ſeveral places, would have given

"ſufficient

" ſufficient occaſion for declaring it im-
" mediately; but that a rupture, and
" the ſetting up another Nazim, is by
" no means your deſire, for which rea-
" ſon you had appointed Mr. Amyatt,
" and Mr. Hay, to confer with me, that
" the diſturbances might be put an end
" to, and our friendſhip confirmed; and
" that beſides the article of cuſtoms,
" they had other articles in charge,
" therefore, I ſhould write to thoſe two
" gentlemen, deſiring them, in a friend-
" ly manner, to come; for with reſpect
" to the cuſtoms, the orders lately given
" by the ſircar, were not conſiſtent with
" the Company's rights and intereſts;
" and that if I ſhould refuſe to confer
" with thoſe two gentlemen, it would
" occaſion a rupture between us." Sir, it is ſurprizing, that you do not ſee the actions of your own people, and will not give credit to them.

NOTWITHSTANDING the treaties between us and the country, and the money I have given for the Company's army, the only favor ſhewn me on all ſides,

is

is the ſending troops, and ſeizing the aumils of the diſtrict of Dacca, attacking and beating the tannadars of Jatirapoor; and, on the Patna ſide, taking my aumils, and keeping them in priſon. What are greater hoſtilities than theſe? It is ſurprizing, that you do not ſee the diſturbances of your own people, and will derive every thing, tending to hoſtilities, from my words and letters; and having prepared an army, the gentlemen hold themſelves ready to begin a war with me. I am really ſtruck with amazement.

WITH reſpect to Mr. Amyatt and Mr. Hay, I before wrote, that if they came only on a viſit, my houſe was theirs.

Now I write again, that if they come with only one or two companies of neceſſary attendants, I have no objection. But I muſt remark, that on the one ſide, you uſe only violent meaſures; while on the other, looking towards the treaties between us, you ſend to confer. A conference, attended with ſuch unreaſonable violences, never was heard of in any

country, and certainly you intend to do nothing contrary to cuſtom.

BY what you write of other articles of buſineſs, beſides the cuſtoms, I underſtand, that for this remaining country, which is left for my ſhare, you have appointed me aumil, or regard me as wadadar, or zemindar, or gomaſtah, or muttaſeddee; that you have given in charge to the ſaid gentlemen other articles of buſineſs, excluſive of cuſtoms. Write me fully and explicitly of this, that I may be acquainted and act accordingly."

Extract of Conſultation of the 20*th of* April, 1763. (*Preſent Meſſ.* Vanſittart, Batſon, Cartier, Haſtings, Johnſtone, Marriott *and* Watts.) *The* Nabob's *Letter of the* 11*th Inſtant, being read and debated on at the Board, as alſo his Anſwer to Mr.* Amyatt's *Letter wrote at the ſame time.*

"THE queſtion was put, whether Meſſ. Amyatt and Hay ſhould in conſequence be recommended to proceed to

to Monghcer, and demand of the Nabob a definitive anſwer to the points contained in their inſtructions.

Mr. Watts's *Opinion.*

MR. WATTS is of opinion, that the preſent letters received from the Nabob, are as evaſive as thoſe read in conſultation the 11th of April; and that they are not in the leaſt ſatisfactory, therefore thinks, from the treachery the Moors are famous for, and the Nabob's diſpoſition and character, that it is unſafe for Meſſ. Amyattt and Hay to proceed; but as every method ought to be tried to prevent a rupture, he propoſes, that the letter be ſent to thoſe gentlemen, and if they believe no riſk would attend them, he is of opinion, it would certainly be very proper for them to proceed to Mongheer, and demand a poſitive anſwer to their inſtructions.

Mr. Marriott's *Opinion.*

MR. MARRIOTT is of opinion, that a copy of the Nabob's letter to the Preſident, and his letter to Mr. Amyatt, ſhould be tranſmitted to Meſſ. Amyatt and Hay; and that they ſhould be re-

commended to proceed to Mongheer, and require, from the Nabob, a definitive anſwer to every point of their inſtructions, as being the moſt ſpeedy and certain method of bringing things to a concluſion.

Mr. Johnſtone's *Opinion.*

I THINK the Nabob gives not Meſſ. Amyatt and Hay any greater encouragement to go on their deputation, by the letters now before us, than in thoſe he wrote of the 2d inſtant. The Nabob only conſents to receive their viſit, if they come as friends; but without ſatisfying us, he will treat with them on buſineſs, on which we had demanded a poſitive anſwer; and the expreſſions of his letters induce me to think, he will make uſe of this pretext, of his not having conſented to enter on buſineſs, to decline treating on any of the points for which theſe gentlemen are deputed.

I WOULD leave it to thoſe gentlemen to judge and decide, whether they have ſufficient reaſon to proceed in hopes of ſucceſs from ſuch an equivocal letter; and, in the mean time, would have all the

ſtores

ſtores tranſported to Gherettee, and all the other preparations made agreeable to the indent of major Adams. That whatever reſolution be taken hereafter, a day may not be loſt in waiting after we have determined.

Mr. Haſtings's *Opinion.*

THE Nabob, in my judgment, plainly declares, that he is very willing to receive Mr. Amyatt's viſit, and only expreſſes his fears, leſt he ſhould be going upon an hoſtile intention; for this reaſon, and to put a ſtop to the inſurrections which theſe diſputes have given riſe to, in the province of Bahar, and the alarm ſpread thro' both provinces, I think Meſſ. Amyatt and Hay ſhould proceed, without loſs of time, on their deputation.

Mr. Cartier's *Opinion.*

MR. CARTIER is of the ſame opinion with Mr. Marriott.

Mr. Batſon's *Opinion.*

IN the ſenſe I underſtand the Nabob's letters, he ſtill refuſes to treat with Meſſ. Amyatt and Hay on any matters of buſineſs, and ſtill continues in the ſame evil

diſpoſition towards us; I therefore think it improper for thoſe gentlemen to proceed on their deputation.

The Preſident's *Opinion, and that of the Majority.*

THE Preſident agrees in opinion with Mr. Marriott; and that appearing alſo to be the opinion of the marjority.

Reſolution in Conſequence.

AGREED, that we do write accordingly to Meſſ. Amyatt and Hay."

WHILST this point was in debate, the following letter was received from the Chief and Council at Patna to the Board. Dated April 11, 1763.

"IT is highly neceſſary, that you ſhould bring matters to a ſpeedy iſſue with the Nabob, for the diſaffected zemindars, and other male-contents, taking the advantage of his infamous and fooliſh behavior, are riſing up in arms, and threaten deſtruction to the country. He has already loſt Beteea, and we have intelligence, that Camgar Cawn, Baboo Cawn, and ſome other Chiefs, are plundering the country about Doudnagar. The Bouge-

poor

poor Rajahs are alſo aſſembling forces on the other ſide of the river; and we daily expect to hear of their entering and poſſeſſing themſelves of their antient domains."

WHATEVER was the deſign of thoſe gentlemen, in painting, in ſuch ſtrong colors, the troubled ſtate of the province of Bahar, it could not but have ſome weight with the Board, in ſhewing the neceſſity of putting an end as ſpeedily as poſſible to our diſputes with the Nabob, and muſt have afforded a convincing argument of the little inclination the Nabob could have to protract them, ſince the conſequences, according to this repreſentation, appeared ſo fatal to his country, and deſtructive to his government. At the ſame time, truth obliges me to obſerve, that the whole ſtory was without foundation, it being well known, that the province never enjoyed a ſtate of more perfect tranquility. Not a zemindar in the country, ever lifted up his hand againſt the Nabob, from the beginning of our troubles; and Camgar

Cawn, in particular, upon the firſt call, joined him with all his forces. The averſion which the Nabob ſhewed to Meſſ. Amyatt and Hay's viſit is very obſervable, thro' every one of his letters, and the reaſon is as obvious. He was now firmly perſuaded by Mr. Ellis's conduct, and the approbation it met from the Board, that they were reſolved to break with him; and he well knew Mr. Amyatt's connection with that gentleman, and his diſaffection to himſelf. Theſe circumſtances, added to the report (which he readily believed) of our forces being actually on the march againſt him, made him conceive, that the propoſed negotiation was only a blind to other deſigns; and that Meſſ. Amyatt and Hay were going to conduct or aſſiſt them. I thought no way ſo likely to convince him his apprehenſions were groundleſs, as the arrival of thoſe gentlemen, when he would ſee, with his own eyes, that they had only a ſmall eſcort.

On the ſecond of May a letter arrived from the Nabob, addreſſed to the Company, of which the following is a tranſlation.

Copy

Copy of a Letter from the Nabob *to the Company. Dated* April 21, 1763.

"THE particulars of the ruinous ſtate of Bengal, you will have been doubtleſs acquainted with from the writings of Mr. Vanſittart, your Governor, and the other gentlemen of the Council, the ſame I will briefly lay before you.

THE Nabob Meer Mahomed Jaffier Cawn, by the aſſiſtance of Colonel Clive, became Nazim of Bengal. But by reaſon of the infirmities of old age, he was incapable of beſtowing that attention which was neceſſary to the adminiſtration of affairs, eſpecially after the death of his ſon by a ſtroke of lightning, when an exceſs of grief and affliction, deprived him of the exerciſe of his reaſon and underſtanding, and added to the infirmities of old age. At this time the Prince of the empire, whilſt his father was yet in poſſeſſion of the throne, by reaſon of the enmity of the Omrahs coming down from Delly, arrived in the diſtricts of Patna, and cauſed great troubles there.

ALTHO'

ALTHO' Aulumgheer, his father, wrote to Meer Mahomed Jaffier Cawn, to ſend the Prince to his preſence; yet, as the Prince had no fixed reſidence, the endeavors of the Nabob afore-named, and of the Engliſh army, were productive of no profitable effect, whilſt the revenues of the country were entirely obſtructed, and the buſineſs alſo of the Company's commerce was much impeded. During this confuſion, the Nabob afore-named became indebted about two crores of rupees to his army, and the troops of the Company, beſides the debt owing to the Sircar of the Company, from the Nabob afore-named; of which, from his extreme negligence, and want of authority, he was unable to diſcharge the ſmalleſt part*, and he was reduced to ſuch an extremity, that the army ſurrounded, and tumultuouſly gathered about him every day for their arrears, whilſt the demands of the Royal treaſure became more preſſing.

BESIDES this, he was indebted to other merchants; and the Merattas lay at the

* In the original, the tenth of a tenth.

the diſtance of five or ſix coſs from Moorſhedabad, encreaſing the general diſorder, and poſſeſſing themſelves of the whole country. Upon this occaſion, the honor and dignity of the Nabob aforenamed, was openly attacked by the hands of the army and other people, who ſurrounded his houſe, and crowded upon and underneath his walls, loading him with opprobrious language, and raining ſtones and bricks upon him.

WHEN I ſaw things come to this paſs, and the army and the people, who, from the proſpect of their impending ruin, had applied themſelves to me, were a little appeaſed; I offered myſelf as ſecurity for the arrears of the army, and I ſatisfied the people. Then, by the means of Mr. Haſtings, I made known to the Governor, Mr. Vanſittart, the extremity to which my honor was reduced; the univerſal confuſion which reigned in the Nizamut, that all methods had proved ineffectual, and that the people and the army had applied themſelves to me, and therefore I deſired him to come and aſ-

ſiſt

ſiſt me. The Governor, Mr. Vanſittart, ſeeing the diſorderly ſtate of the Nizimut, and of the currency of the Company's affairs, judged it highly adviſeable, that I ſhould be inveſted with the direction of the affairs of the country, and the command of the forces of the Nabob afore-named; with this view, he came with ſome of his council to Moorſhedabad, and adviſed the Nabob in theſe terms. "Do you remain at eaſe and in "quiet in the palace, and entruſt all "your affairs to him *, who will ſerve "you with his heart and life, and ef"fectually reſtore good order to your "country." The Nabob afore-named, not conſenting to remain at Moorſhedabad, immoveably declared that he would go to Mecca, and accordingly, with this deſign, departed to Calcutta, where I have ever ſince remitted a monthly ſum for his ſubſiſtence. For this cauſe, regarding the welfare of the people, and the preſervation of my own honor and character, which were united with the Nabob

* Meer Coſſim.

Nabob afore-named, I ſtrenuouſly applied myſelf to the management and eſtabliſhment of the affairs of theſe provinces.

THE Governor, Mr. Vanſittart, repreſented to me, that the Company ſuffered a great loſs by the heavy expences of the Engliſh forces, and he deſired that I would aſſign a tract of land for their pay, and they ſhould attend me, and be of ſervice to me: I replied, that I would pay them ready money. When he conſented not to this, excluſive of the ready money, effects, lands, and the farm of ſalt-petre, given by the Nabob Meer Jaffier Cawn, I aſſigned three diſtricts, which produced an income of fifty lacks of rupees for the charges of the forces of the Company; that they might collect the rents as they pleaſed, and apply them to the defraying of their expences, and when called upon, afford me aſſiſtance. Beſides this, I furniſhed five lacks of rupees, as an aſſiſtance which was neceſſary for the charges of the Company's forces, in the ſiege of the fort of Pondicherry.

cherry. Alſo, twenty lacks of rupees, the debt owing from the Nabob Meer Mahomed Jaffier Cawn, I entirely diſcharged. At that time, the troubles cauſed by the Prince increaſing, I marched from Moorſhedabad to the province of Bahar, expecting to be aſſiſted by the Company's forces; and as the father of Shah * Aalum was dead, I addreſſed the Shah, requeſting, that whatever improper meaſures had been taken by Meer Mahomed Jaffier Cawn, he would pardon my offences, and the ſums due to the imperial ſircar I would pay. But ſeveral gentlemen and chiefs of the Company's forces (of whom there were at that time many diſmiſſions and changes) making certain agreements with the Prince, conducted him to Patna, and aſſociating with ſome of the muttaſeddees of the Nizamut, and having taken the fort of Patna into their own poſſeſſion, they laid me under an heavy expence to my troops for ſix months, and ſtrove

* The name aſſumed by the Prince, on the death of his father.

ſtrove to throw all my affairs into diſorder. By the bleſſing of God, Mr. Vanſittart remaining firm to his treaty and agreement, called ſeveral gentlemen from Patna to Calcutta, ſo that their deſigns proved abortive; and by paying and promiſing, I prevailed upon Shah Aalum to return toward the imperial city. What I have done theſe three years for the welfare of the people, the care of the country, the preſervation of your friendſhip, and the currency of your affairs, is as manifeſt as the ſun. There is no occaſion for me to write it, and without doubt, you have been ſufficiently informed of it from the addreſſes of your Governor, Mr. Henry Vanſittart. The condition of theſe three years, how ſhall I write, and what I have ſuffered, and yet do ſuffer, from the hands of ſeveral gentlemen? The flame of enmity every day riſes higher; whatever they pleaſe they do, binding and carrying away my officers; whatever comes into their mouths they ſpeak, and they place guards upon my houſes and forts.

On any taxable goods imported, I have never troubled them for one rupee; and ſuch of the moſt valuable commodities of the country, as they have bought and carried to other ports, have paſſed in like manner, without any demand from me for duties upon them. Yet not contented with this extenſive trade in all articles free from duties, they carry on a trade in many things not cuſtomary, ſuch as dried fiſh, ſtraw, bamboos, beetle-nut, ſalt, tobacco, timbers, and other trifling articles, which uſed to afford the means of ſubſiſtance to the poor and indigent in the country, nor are fit for exportation, nor can produce any profit to the Company; and for their own trade and advantage they raiſe diſputes.

By ſuch means, the poor, and the inhabitants of the country were reduced to, and ſtill continue in ruin and miſery; of all theſe matters I wrote repeatedly to the governor, Mr. Vanſittart. Altho' he did not conſider, nor do juſtice to the poor, nor redreſs their oppreſſions, yet for my ſake he came to me, and agree-

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ing to a ſmall duty on goods bought and ſold in the country, he returned to Calcutta. But ſeveral gentlemen of the council, not regarding the words or acts of the Governor, proceeded to improper and unbecoming meaſures, and fixed the root of enmity ſo deep, that there was no reſource left in Bengal, and the diſorders of the Nizamut are daily increaſing. Whatever I ſay or write upon this occaſion, theſe gentlemen will not conſider, nor do me juſtice; diſregarding the treaty and good name of the Company, they deſire not to abſtain from hurting their own characters with the Company, nor to abide by our agreement.

BUT I have one hope yet left in the juſtice of the Company, ſince in the preſence of the Company, the iniquity of any one, whether relation or ſtranger, ſervant or friend, meets not with countenance; and ſuch practices as tend to the ſubverſion of the country, and the ruin of the inhabitants, will, upon no account, be approved of by you. Aſſuredly, on hearing theſe things, you will

graciouſly befriend me; and I, for my own part, ever attentive to the friendſhip, the confirmation of the union, and the obſervance of the treaty and agreement with the Company, which I have in my hands, under the ſeal of the Company, do remain, and will continue, in quiet and forbearance to the utmoſt of my power. I have that reliance on your friendſhip and benevolence, that you will, in the ſtricteſt manner, enjoin the chiefs of the army, and the gentlemen that reſide in, or may come into theſe parts to aſſiſt and befriend me according to the treaty and agreement, nor in contradiction thereto, to labour at introducing diſorders into the country, and amongſt the inhabitants.

It is proper that you grant me an anſwer to this addreſs, that hereafter I may have a written pledge of your affection and kindneſs, to ſhew to theſe gentlemen, that your affairs and mine may be conducted in a proper manner. In this view I ſhall uſe my endeavors, and labour with my heart and life in promoting the ſucceſs of your affairs.

IF you refuſe me this, this province, on which your commerce and my Nizamut depend, will be one entire ſcene of ruin and miſery, without any reſource left; and with the payments to the royal treaſury, the charges of the army, and other neceſſary expences, I ſhall be involved in inextricable diſtreſſes. For your information I have repreſented this. What more ſhall I trouble you with? May the degree of your wealth and proſperity be for ever encreaſing".

FROM the good ſenſe and temper apparent in this letter, I now began to flatter myſelf with the hopes of a reconciliation; nor were they a little encouraged by the good opinion I had of Mr. Amyatt, whom, in ſpite of the lengths to which the violence and unhappy influence of others had driven him, I knew to be poſſeſſed of a moderate diſpoſition, and by nature, the moſt ill-ſuited to the litigious ſcenes in which he had unwarily engaged. The Nabob had always profeſſed a favorable opinion of him; and as

by this time he must have been convinced, that the report of our forces being on the march against him, was without foundation, his objections to the visit must vanish of course. I therefore made it my endeavor, in all my letters to the Nabob, to convince him of the good intentions of Mr. Amyatt, and to persuade him to yield to the terms which were prescribed to him, repeating the assurances of my own unchanged attachment, with promises of redress from the justice of the Company, to which he had appealed. But it was now too late, our differences had taken too deep root to be removed: Mr. Ellis, encouraged by the support afforded him by the Board, continued to widen the breach; and the Nabob, tired out with repeated provocations, and more plainly convinced of my inability to protect him, lost all temper, and shewed himself from this time scarce less violent than his enemies.

ON the 9th of May we received the following letter from the chief and council at Patna.

Patna

Patna *Letter to the Board.*

"WE have received your favor of the 14th inſtant, with the reſolutions of the Board, which as far as we can comprehend them, will not allow us to conſtrue any act of the Nabob as hoſtile, although ever ſo greatly tending to our ruin, but we are to wait until we have notice from you of a rupture being declared. Who there may be to receive your commands is hard to ſay, but moſt probably, neither any of us, nor of the party now here, as we ſhall clearly evince.

We have had intelligence (not from hircarras) that if the army ſhould come from Calcutta, the Nabob intends marching here to attack us; in which caſe, he will certainly remove our dauks, and cut off all communication by that channel. It will be the third day of his march before we can receive certain advice of it; and a ſingle coſſid will be twelve days reaching Calcutta, provided he meets with no impediment; but it is more probable that, at ſuch a juncture, he ne-

ver gets there, and ſtill more ſo, that your anſwer never reaches us.

How then are we to act? This factory, it is well known, is not tenable if attacked from the city, and to abandon it, will, amongſt many other evils, give ſuch a ſhock to the ſpirit of our troops, as may induce the greateſt part of our ſeepoys, (in whom our principal ſtrength conſiſts) to deſert us, and go over to the Nabob, where they are better inſured of ſucceſs, and will meet with ample encouragement, which has not been ſpared, even when there was no appearance of a rupture, to thoſe who would deſert with their arms. Another ſubſtantial reaſon why we cannot leave the factory, is, our having put our ammunition, for its greater ſecurity, in the lower part of the houſe, the magazine where it before lay, being liable to be blown up by a common rocket.

BUT let us ſuppoſe, for a moment, that on the Nabob's marching againſt us, we quit the factory and take poſt; are we to ſacrifice our ſurgeons and ſick who reſide in the city? For it cannot be ſup-

poſed,

poſed, that they will be permitted to come out, or if they could, the ſituation of moſt of them is ſuch, that their being brought into the air, will be attended with certain death. When we have fortified ourſelves in this poſt, our affairs are not at all mended; for the Nabob has only to ſurround and ſtarve us, whilſt we, dying by inches, ſit waiting for your orders, which can never arrive, but with the army, and that at the ſooneſt will be forty days after his march from Mongheer. How are we to ſubſiſt all this time? The Nabob ſeizes all proviſions coming from Bengal; and ſuch is the ſcarcity here, that had it not been for the gunge, which ſo much pains was taken to aboliſh, we had long e'er now been obliged to take up arms, to procure our daily ſuſtenance; but was there plenty, we have not a rupee to purchaſe it. With the utmoſt difficulty we have ſcraped money together to pay our troops, for theſe two months paſt; and, at this time, have not ſufficient to diſcharge a fourth part of the demands, that will

be upon us in a few days, altho' we acquainted you of the lowneſs of our caſh as long ago as the 2d of February. This party, 'tis true, runs no riſk from the Nabob, provided we are allowed to act, and make the moſt of every advantage that may offer; but if our hands are tied, our deſtruction becomes inevitable, ſuch a body as this muſt ever act offenſively and vigorouſly, and nip the deſigns of the enemy in the bud. 'Tis by ſuch conduct only, that they can hope to preſerve themſelves; and, ſurely, it is juſt and laudable to make uſe of every means, providence has put in our power, to defeat the attacks of a cruel and faithleſs enemy.

OUR ſafety lies in maſtering the city, by a coup de main, before the Nabob gets into it; for, afterwards, it may be impracticable, and the conſequence of our acting on the defenſive any where but in the city, we have already pointed out. Our diſtance from Calcutta is very great, and whenever the Nabob marches this way, our communication will be cut off,

off, and moſt probably not opened but by your army. If therefore we ſhould obey nature's firſt law, we hope we ſhall not be found culpable, tho' it may not perfectly coincide with your orders.

WE cannot conclude without obſerving to you, that we think we have no ways merited the diffidence you expreſs, nor given the leaſt reaſon ever to ſuſpect, that we would involve the Company in a war by any raſh or unpremeditated ſtep. We rather think, that we have given proof of a contrary diſpoſition, in bearing the many inſults we have received, particularly ſince Mehdee Allee Cawn has been appointed Naib here, whoſe people have even dared to abuſe and call us opprobrious names aloud from the walls. We ſhall be as far as any, to whom the management of the Company's affairs are entruſted, from bringing them into difficulties; but when it is really neceſſary, ſhall endeavour to act with a ſpirit that becomes ſubjects of Britain, and ſervants of her greateſt commercial body.

YOUR letters are always one, and often

ten two days earlier in date than any others from Calcutta, which gives the Nabob a great advantage in point of intelligence. We therefore requeſt you will order them to be diſpatched with the utmoſt expedition."

I CANNOT help remarking here, upon the unbecoming ſtyle and falſe reaſoning uſed in this letter. Inſtead of a decent repreſentation of their opinion, it is a paſſionate exclamation againſt the orders of the Board, which they endeavor to make appear unintelligible, and inconſiſtent with the ſafety of the Company's factory and troops at Patna.

THE orders of the Board, at which the chief and council of Patna are ſo much offended, were theſe *; that in caſe of a rupture with the Nabob, we ſhould give them the earlieſt notice, which they were to wait; and, in the mean time, they were to content themſelves with defending the Company's intereſts and property againſt all invaders. This ſurely was ſufficient,

* See page 162, of this Vol.

ficient, for what danger could we apprehend to ſo ſtrong a detachment as theirs, from any number of the Nabob's forces. They themſelves always called them an undiſciplined * rabble, and gave an † inſtance of 4000 repulſed by 50 of our ſeepoys, who made good their retreat from Gyah to Patna, upwards of eighty miles. Money we ſupplied them with ſo plentifully, that when they quitted the factory, they carried off ſixty thouſand rupees in caſh, which fell afterwards into the Nabob's hands.

THEY are offended, that it was not left to them to declare a rupture when they thought proper, "becauſe they had "certain intelligence (not from hircarras) "that the Nabob was determined, up-"on the firſt notice of the march of any "troops from Calcutta, to proceed with "all his force to attack the detachment "of our troops at Patna."

IN anſwer to which, I ſay firſt, that I believe the determination of peace and war, was never known to be left in the hands

* See page 164, of this Vol. † See page 88, ibid.

hands of any inferior power; and, ſecondly, that if the power of declaring a rupture with the Nabob, had been left to the Chief and Council at Patna, it was to be apprehended, that partly thro' falſe intelligence, and partly thro' their particular indiſpoſition towards the Nabob, they would be induced to declare againſt him, without real or ſufficient reaſon, and contrary to the intentions of the Board. Indeed, I muſt add, that it was my own firm perſuaſion, that they only ſought ſuch a power for a ſanction, to the immediate execution of their own deſigns.

FOR proof that their intelligence was ſometimes fallible, I refer to that very article, which they call "*certain*," of the Nabob's intention to march to Patna, upon the firſt notice of any of our troops ſetting out from Calcutta. It was plain from the Nabob's letter already inſerted *, that he had received ſuch accounts of our troops ſetting out from Calcutta, as he believed to be true; and yet he ſhewed

* See page 143, of this Vol.

ſhewed not the leaſt ſign of marching towards Patna. In like manner, in the Patna letter, of the 15th of March, we were adviſed of the Nabob's being encamped at Poonarek, and that he deſigned to march back to Patna, to attack our troops; but we heard for certain the next day, that he had proceeded quietly to Monghеer. Many more inſtances, were it neceſſary, might be produced from the Patna letters, of miſtaken intelligence. For proof of their particular indiſpoſition towards the Nabob, and their endeavors to aggravate every accidental circumſtance into a crime againſt him, I might refer to numberleſs paſſages in their letters; but I believe thoſe which have already occurred, in the courſe of this narrative, will be ſufficient, nor need the ſupport of further quotations.

Whilst Meſſ. Amyatt and Hay were at Coſſimbuzar, they adviſed us, that the Seets * had been ſeized and carried away to the Nabob. This being judged a conſequence of the Nabob's ſuſpicions, that

* Juggutſeet and his brother, two famous bankers.

that they were concerned in ſome ill deſigns with us, and a breach of the promiſe which he made to me, upon his firſt acceſſion to the ſubahſhip; a ſevere remonſtrance was ſent to him againſt this proceeding, with a demand for their releaſe.

THE Nabob in anſwer, wrote as follows.

Copy of a Letter from the Nabob *to the Governor. Dated* May 2, 1763.

"I HAVE received with pleaſure your "friendly letter; you write, that "in the ſame manner as the writers of "news, and incendiary reports, had "falſely informed me, forces were diſ-"patched by land and water, and thro' "the woods and mountains, they muſt "have wrote upon the affair of the Seets, "that the Engliſh forces had been diſ-"patched thro' their inſtigations, and "that thoſe gentlemen were aſſociated "with the Engliſh, for which cauſe "they muſt have fallen under my diſ-

"pleaſure;

" pleaſure; you write alſo, that you " underſtand, from Mr. Amyatt's let- " ters, that Mahomed Tucky Cawn hav- " ing taken the ſame gentlemen from " their houſe, had placed them in Hee- " rajeel. The news of this procedure " had greatly amazed you, becauſe, at the " time that I ſat in the muſnud of the " Nizamut, I, yourſelf, and the Seets " were joined; and, it was agreed, that " theſe being the principal men of the " country, it was proper to carry on " the management of affairs through " their means. And alſo at the time " you came to Mongheer, you ſaid all " that was to be ſaid concerning them, " and now to carry them away with " ſuch indignities, is unbecoming; that " this procedure is a diminution of my " character, and breach of faith, between " you and myſelf; and will give a pub- " lic reproach to your good name and " my own. That ſuch a diſgrace was " never offered to them, in the govern- " ment of any former Nazim. That " their buſineſs is only commerce, nor

" have

" have they ever aſſumed any concern " in the affairs of the government; and " you deſire, that I will write to Meer " Syed Mahomed Cawn Bahader to re- " leaſe them, that they may return to " their own houſe." Sir, your forces have not marched to Luckypoor, neither have they entered Dacca, nor have they gone to Rangamettee or Rungpoor; and where have they not committed violences? and what place, or what diſtricts, are free from them? And what day paſſes, that the dependents and companies of the Engliſh at Gherettee and Calcutta, do not raiſe reports of war and tumults, and troops, marching from every quarter to Mongheer and Patna, that you write that the hircarras, and writers of news, write falſehoods? The hircarras of neceſſity write what they hear.

AND in the affair of the Seets, no perſon has to this time ever wrote any thing, nor ſpoken to me concerning them.

Now that you write to me, with all theſe ſpecious pretences, it is as manifeſt as the ſun, that under the government

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of every Nazim of Bengal till now, Omichund (for inſtance) and every other dependent of the Engliſh, and theſe gentlemen too attended on the Nazim, and aſſiſted on the affairs of the ſircar, at the ſame time that they carried on their mercantile concerns. God be praiſed, that you yourſelf write that I ſaid, "theſe gentlemen are of conſequence, it is proper to carry on my affairs with their intervention." For theſe three years that I have borne this burthen, and have repeatedly wrote to theſe gentlemen, to carry on their own buſineſs, and aſſiſt in the affairs of the Nizamut, they paid not the leaſt regard to my ſummons, and have put a ſtop to all their mercantile buſineſs, and have done all they could, to throw the affairs of the Nizamut into confuſion, and treated me as an enemy, and out-law, and refuſed to come. Now that I have ſent my people, and brought them hither, it was not becauſe they were intriguing with the Engliſh, &c. but for

the management of ſuch of my affairs, as indiſpenſably required it. Since the beginning, this was agreed upon between us, that theſe gentlemen, &c. ſhould always attend upon the Nazim, and carry on both the buſineſs of the Nizamut, and their own. As to your writing to me in this manner, and knitting your brows without reaſon, and treating the covenants and treaties which are between us, like children's play, breaking entirely through them, as if you had not any kind of regard to them; what other conſtruction can I deviſe for this? Whilſt your people drag and carry away my aumils, and keep them in confinement; in this unjuſtifiable inſolence of your people, which is over-ſetting the treaty between us, there is no diminution of character, no breach of faith, nor cauſe of reproach between us, neither is any violation of the treaty in this. But when I ſummon a man, who is my own dependent, the treaty is broke, and my adminiſtration becomes weak, and my name ſuffers in the ſight of every one, but particularly

ticularly in yours. O gracious God! this is a matter of aſtoniſhment, which my underſtanding cannot reach. In a word, that theſe gentlemen, from the firſt day, ſwore and agreed, that "where-"ever my life was, their life was, and "wherever my buſineſs was, their buſineſs "was." God be praiſed, that this is a fact known to all the world. Now I have brought them to this place, that they may always be with me, and attend to my buſineſs and their own, according to cuſtom. I know not, whether what you write in behalf of theſe gentlemen, be by way of interceſſion for them, or whether their names are included in our former treaty, which you have recourſe to, when you charge me with breach of faith, and violation of former agreements, and reproach me with weakneſs, and a bad name. God be praiſed, that I have ſent for them with no other deſign than for the currency of buſineſs, and for their continuance in one place: neither, as in the caſe of Coja Wajeed, have I ſeized any perſon unjuſtly; nor charged my conſcience with the

unjuſt death of any man. If you are reſolved to put miſconſtructions on every proper and lawful action of mine, I am utterly without remedy; but if you regard equity, this matter is not of ſuch conſequence, as to give occaſion for ſo much contention and reproach.

In the Nabob's *Hand-writing.*

SIR, Though it is agreed by the treaty between us, that I ſhould never ſay any thing in behalf of the ſervants and dependents of the Company, nor you, gentlemen, interfere in behalf of the ſervants and dependents of the Nizamut; yet you, gentlemen, have regarded all this as utterly obliterated, and in contradiction thereto, perſiſt in the violation of the treaty, and deſire to raiſe your name, and eſtabliſh your own cuſtoms. I am remedileſs."

THE Nabob had never expreſſed himſelf with ſo much acrimony, nor betrayed the vehemence of his reſentment ſo ſtrongly

ſtrongly as in this letter, which ſeems to have been dictated from a ſenſe of the deepeſt injuries. It muſt be confeſſed, the provocation was ſufficient to draw ſuch a recrimination from the Nabob, upon the little account which we made of ſeizing and impriſoning his officers, whilſt we were ſo ready to reproach him for doing the ſame to his own dependents. But what contributed at this time to make him the leſs reliſh our remonſtrance, was the news which he had juſt received of the ſeizure of Mahomed Allee, which, in conſequence of our orders* to the chief and council at Dacca, they had effected happily without oppoſition, and immediately ſent him priſoner to Calcutta; this treatment (however merited) of an officer of ſuch conſequence, affected the Nabob more than all that had paſſed, nor could he mention it with temper in any of his letters after this period.

ON the 30th of May, we received the following letter from Meſſ. Amyatt and

* Page 139, of this Vol.

Hay, containing an account of their firſt interview with the Nabob.

Copy of a Letter from Meſſ. Amyatt *and* Hay, *to the Governor and Council.*

Dated May 18, 1763.

"WE waited on the Nabob the 15th, to acquaint him of your reſolution. In converſing on the different articles, we found it impoſſible to diſcourſe ſeparately upon them; and he deſired us to write down what we had to ſay to him. We delivered to him a Perſian tranſlate we had made of our inſtructions. The ſame being read, he deſired we would leave it with him, as alſo the Firmauns, &c. which we acquieſced to. The next evening he ſent his moonſhee Hafiz, Iſſrar Cawn, to us, to deſire we would ſign that Perſian tranſlate, or draw out a liſt of ſuch demands as we were commiſſioned to get complied with; which we accordingly did, and ſent it to him ſigned and ſealed, a copy of which is here incloſed. We again waited on him this morning, to deſire his anſwer,

if

if he would comply with theſe articles, and give us the ſatisfaction required. He replied, it would take up ſome time to conſider on them, and deſired two days to give his anſwer. We had a good deal of converſation with him on different ſubjects, in which it appeared he had conſidered himſelf as in a ſtate of war with us for ſome time paſt, and had iſſued orders, and made preparations accordingly, which has been the cauſe of ſome of the interruptions and inſults our people have met with lately; and moſt of the others, he ſaid, had been occaſioned by Mr. Vanſittart's letter, which he hitherto looked on as a treaty, the Governor had been authorized to enter into with him, which cauſed him to ſend theſe orders over the country to his amils, the executing of which, we now ſo much complain of. We remarked to him, many of thoſe interruptions we had laboured under, before that letter. As far as we can judge from our laſt converſation, he ſeems ſomewhat convinced that our intentions are not hoſtile,

as long as he does not attempt to infringe our rights (of which we have uſed our beſt endeavors to perſuade him) and gives us ſatisfaction for the loſſes ſuſtained by inſults offered to the Engliſh by his officers in different parts of the country. This we are in hopes he will comply with, though he makes great uſe of the argument, of his having acted by Mr. Vanſittart's agreement. We cannot write you, at preſent, with certainty of his intentions, but hope to be more ſo in our next. We ſhall again wait on him, for a further converſation on the many articles he is to comply with, before the time appointed by him for giving his anſwer, to endeavour further to convince him of the reaſonableneſs of them; when we ſhall mention to him the moving * our troops to Patna, which hitherto we have declined on account of his ſuſpicions."

THIS letter afforded ſome hopes, that the Nabob would ſubmit to the demands, and

* This was in conſequence of a reſolution of the Board, to relieve the Patna troops every year, by ſending a freſh detachment from Calcutta.

and thus our diſputes be ended; but it appeared from his letters afterwards, that his diſpoſition for peace, was little aſſiſted by his converſation with Meſſ. Amyatt and Hay, who, inſtead of allowing room for negotiation, or ſhewing an equal willingneſs to hear and redreſs his grievances, perſiſted only in requiring a determinate anſwer to their own demands, which might as well have been inſiſted on by letter from Calcutta, without putting them to the riſk or trouble of ſo long a journey. The Nabob complained much of this proceeding, and by ſome paſſages in his letters, appears to have been as little pleaſed with the haughty ſtyle in which they addreſſed him; whilſt they, in their turn, retorted the ſame complaint upon him. But what were the Nabob's real intentions at this time, whether to ſubmit to neceſſity, and ſign to the articles, or by rejecting them, refer our differences to the chance of war, it is hard to judge. It is certain, he was provided as well as he could be, againſt the worſt; though it is

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my own belief, that his intention was never to begin the war, but to avoid it, till he ſhould be forced to defend himſelf. That ſuch was his diſpoſition, I judged both from his letters and conduct: his letters, though filled with the moſt bitter remonſtrances of the violences committed againſt him, ſhewed always a fear of coming to extremities, and a deſire to treat; while ours, which he was anſwering, contained the moſt abſolute commands, enforced with a denunciation of war, if he refuſed to ſubmit to them. And as to his conduct, if he had reſolved upon war, he would ſurely not have neglected the many ways he might have taken to diſtreſs us: he would have attacked the detachments ſent out from Patna, and endeavoured to cut them off from the body, inſtead of making ineffectual complaints to us; above all things, he would have been prepared, on the firſt commencement of hoſtilities, to ravage the Burdwan province, from whence he knew we received our chief ſupplies of money; in ſhort, he would have ſtop-

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ped the currency of the Company's buſineſs in all parts, which he never once attempted, till the city of Patna was attacked and taken by our troops.

WHILST our affairs were in this critical ſuſpence, a very unlucky circumſtance happened, which gave a turn to the ſcale, and introduced a freſh ſubject of diſpute. Some boats laden with arms for our troops at Patna, which had been diſpatched about two months before, paſſing by Mongheer, were ſtopped there by the guards. Meſſ. Amyatt and Hay demanded their releaſe; but the Nabob looking upon this as a freſh proof of our deſign to break with him, and naturally concluding that theſe arms were to be employed againſt himſelf, refuſed to part with them, unleſs our forces were removed from Patna, declaring, that whilſt they continued there, employed as they had always been, to intimidate the officers of the government, and ſcreen the violences and oppreſſions of Mr. Ellis, he could put no confidence in our profeſſions. At the ſame time, as a proof

that

that his view in the demand was only to prevent the ill uſe which he knew Mr. Ellis would make of thoſe forces, he offered, as an alterative, that they ſhould continue there, provided that Mr. Ellis was recalled, and either Mr. Amyatt, Mr. M'Gwire, or Mr. Haſtings, appointed chief in his room, otherwiſe he inſiſted that the detachment ſhould be ordered down to Mongheer for his ſervice, according to the terms of our original treaty. In ſhort, he pretended, that the only object he aimed at, was to obviate the miſchievous deſigns of Mr. Ellis, by depriving him of the means of effecting them; and declared, that this only could preſerve the peace between us; for that he was certainly informed, Mr. Ellis was reſolved to attack the city of Patna. The firſt advice that we received of this affair, was in a letter from Meſſ. Amyatt and Hay, of the 26th of May, which incloſed, at the ſame time, the Nabob's reply to the demands of the Board, and was confirmed by their letters of the 29th and 31ſt of the ſame month.

Theſe

Theſe letters, with tranſlations of the demands preſented to the Nabob, and his reply annexed, I ſhall here inſert.

Extract of a Letter from Meſſ. Amyatt *and* Hay *to the Governor and Council. Dated* May 26, 1763.

"WE have not ſeen the Nabob theſe four days, he being indiſpoſed, which cauſed us to importune him by letters, for an anſwer to the ſeveral demands, you ordered us to inſiſt on his complying with. This morning he ſent it by Nobit Roy, which we now incloſe you; we had before flattered ourſelves he intended giving us a favorable one, though he all along continued to inſiſt on our people being the aggreſſors, and complained of our ſeizing his aumils, when he was always ready to redreſs our grievances, without entering into juſt argument, but confining it to occurrences lately happened, ſince his order iſſued in conſequence of Mr. Vanſittart's letter; but he ſeemed to agree, by his converſation, that the method we now wanted

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our buſineſs to go on in, properly obſerved, was juſt, and to appearance he was free from apprehenſions of our wanting to quarrel with him; but we now muſt conjecture, this behavior was only to delay time for ſome purpoſe or other.

THE boats, with the arms for Patna, arrived here yeſterday, and were ſtopped by the Nabob's chokey. We immediately applied for their releaſe by letter, and gave them a duſtuck, mentioning they contained arms, which they have kept, and the boats ſtill continue detained. The Nabob promiſed an anſwer by Nobit Roy this morning, who ſaid they were detained for having arms in them.

THE letter written him to day we have ſent, hoping it will have ſome effect on his mind, reflecting that our going away muſt neceſſarily bring on a rupture; to prevent which, it may make him hearken to reaſon, and he may ſtill be brought to comply with the articles required; therefore, if he deſires us to

ſtay,

ſtay, and releaſes the boats, we ſhall continue here till ſuch time as we receive your orders how we are to act in caſe of his non-compliance with any, or every article; but if he ſtill continues the hoſtile action of detaining the arms, we ſhall move from hence either towards Bengal or Patna, as moſt convenient, if we have reaſon to ſuſpect his wanting to ſtop us."

Copy of the Demands preſented by Meſſ. Amyatt *and* Hay *to the* Nabob.

"WE have already pointed out to your Excellency, the grounds of our right to a free trade throughout the provinces, and the independency of our people upon the country government, founded upon the royal Firmaun, &c. Atteſted copies of which we have laid before your Excellency, as well as the hearty reſolutions of the Board, to ſupport you in your government with all its advantages, as long as you do not attempt to infringe the privileges of the Engliſh.

WE now proceed, agreeable to your deſire, to draw out a writing of the demand,

mands we are commiſſioned to make from the whole Board, and under their hands and ſeals.

FIRST, That your Excellency do annul the treaty you made with Mr. Vanſittart, and recal the ſeveral atteſted copies of it, which were circulated, together with your perwannah, in conſequence thereof, to the ſeveral aumils of your government, informing them of its being void.

SECONDLY, That reparation be made for the loſſes ſuſtained by the Engliſh, both before the ſaid treaty was made and after it, by the ſtoppage of their buſineſs, and the oppreſſions of your ſeveral officers.

THIRDLY, That the ſunnuds granted by your Excellency, for the exemption of all duties, for the ſpace of two years, be immediately annulled, and all duties collected as before, as it in a great meaſure deprives the Engliſh of the advantages which the tenor of the Royal Firmaun has ever entitled them to, above other merchants, and is entirely repugnant to their intereſt, and prejudicial to

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the good harmony which ought to ſubſiſt between your Excellency and the Engliſh.

FOURTHLY, That diſputes between the Engliſh and the dependents of your government be adjuſted in the following manner, viz.

AT all thoſe aurungs which are adjacent to, or under the management of the ſubordinate factories, the gomaſtah, in caſe of being injured by any of the officers, of the government or their dependents, ſhall firſt make application for redreſs, in writing to the officer of the government, reſiding on the ſpot; from whom, if he does not receive immediate ſatisfaction, he ſhall ſend his complaint to the chief of the neareſt factory, who ſhall be empowered to take cognizance of the ſame, and demand and exact (if neceſſary) the ſatisfaction which the caſe may require. But that it is to be underſtood in reſpect of weavers, pykars, and all others, who receive advances of money for goods to be provided, or are indebted for goods bought, the gomaſtahs ſhall

retain their power as uſual, to call ſuch debtors to account. On the other hand, where the government's people ſhall have reaſon to complain againſt an Engliſh gomaſtah or agent, they ſhall give the ſaid agent or gomaſtah notice of the complaint in writing; requiring and recommending to him to ſettle it in an amicable and equitable manner; and in caſe the agent or gomaſtah refuſes, or neglects to ſettle it in ſuch manner, as ſhall appear reaſonable to the government's officer, he ſhall then tranſmit an account of it to the chief of the neareſt Engliſh factory, and deliver a copy of the ſaid account to the gomaſtah: and the chief of the factory is hereby required to examine ſtrictly into the affair, and decide it according to juſtice, giving a copy of his determination to the officer of the government who made the complaint. That the gentlemen of the ſubordinates ſhall keep a regiſter of ſuch complaints, with the deciſions paſſed on them, a copy whereof ſhall be forwarded monthly to the Preſidency. With reſpect

reſpect to the diſtant places where trade is carried on, ſuch as Rungpoor, Poornea, Gwalparah, and Rangamettee, there is at preſent no reſident on the part of the Company; but the ſituation of the former being ſuch, as will make it convenient for examining the complaints, and deciding the diſputes, which may happen in moſt of thoſe places, we have accordingly appointed a gentleman to reſide there for that purpoſe.

FIFTHLY, That a gentleman, on the part of the Engliſh, do always reſide at your Durbar, by whom all tranſactions between your Excellency and the Engliſh, will be carried on in future; and that he be acquainted with, and approve all orders, which are to be iſſued thro' the country relative to the Engliſh.

SIXTHLY, That jagheeree ſunnuds be granted the Company for their lands of Burdwan, Midnapoor and Chittagong.

SEVENTHLY, That you do iſſue peremptory orders to the ſhroffs and others, for effecting the currency of the rupees, coined in our mint, and for our coining

three lacks of rupees annually, in each of the mints of Dacca and Patna.

EIGHTHLY, That the money diſburſed by Mahomed Reza Cawn in the expedition of Tippera, out of the revenues of Chittagong, after that province was made over to the Company, be reimburſed.

NINTHLY, A public and exemplary puniſhment is required to be inflicted on Lawl Shaw, the commander of the troops from Tekarree, belonging to your Excellency, who attacked a ſubahdar, and fifty ſeepoys belonging to the Engliſh, declaring, that he had the Nabob's orders to cut every Engliſh ſeepoy to pieces wherever he ſhould be found; and that the ſaid puniſhment be inflicted before our departure from hence.

TENTHLY, That the Seets be releaſed, and permitted to go where they pleaſe unmoleſted.

ELEVENTHLY, That your Excellency do give us an explicit anſwer to the above demands, and with all convenient expedition iſſue your orders agreeable thereto, ſo that the Engliſh buſineſs may

be

be freed from the interruptions which it now labors under."

Copy of the Nabob's *Reply to Meſſ.* Amyatt *and* Hay's *Demands.*

"AS I have nothing to do with cuſtoms or duties on any kind of goods from any merchant whatever, and have wholly exempted them for two years to come, ye may engage in whatever trade ye pleaſe, nor will any one meddle or interfere therein. After the time of exemption is expired, every officer will again interfere for duties, then ye will prove your rights from grants, &c. and I will anſwer you.

FIRST, The Governor's agreement was never regarded by me, and an order is now going to my officers, that the copies of the writing he gave me, whereſoever they appear, are null and void.

SECONDLY, What does it matter? the loſs that has ariſen in the revenues, due to my Nizamut, on account of you gentlemen, ſettle with me for that, and I am ready to ſettle the loſs that it can be

proved the Company have ſuffered in their buſineſs thro' my officers.

THIRDLY, The profit and advantage that has ever uſed to accrue to the Company, for my own part, I covet none of it. The diſtinction of the Company is what it has been; but do you examine my papers, and ſee, that in the chucla of Hoogly, Dacca and Patna, &c. thirty or forty lacks of rupees is the annual amount of the taxation ariſing from thoſe leſſer receipts of cuſtom.

FOR theſe two or three years paſt, what have I received? Nay, have I not paid the expence of theſe three diſtricts, and other offices, out of my own pocket? Beſides all this, your folks have proceeded againſt my officers, with the utmoſt indignity, and carried them away into confinement.

ALTHO' I have again and again wrote to you on this head, and adviſed you thereof, it availed not at all, nor did you concern yourſelves about it. As I perceived there was no redreſs for me; and, on the contrary, I ſuffered the greateſt

indignities

indignities and inſults from your hands, for the ſake of recovering your friendſhip; having no other remedy, I preferred my own loſs, and have taken off all cuſtoms whatever.

FOURTHLY, Whenever the chiefs and gomaſtahs of your factories interrupt not my people, and the dependents on the government, my officers alſo will not interfere with the weavers, pykars, and others, uſually dependent on your factories. And when we ſhall agree on both ſides, to act in this manner, for what will my officers cauſeleſſly commit injuries againſt you? You write, that the chiefs of your factories will ſettle diſputes. You have never brought an officer of this government before a chief of a factory, for ſettling any matter in my adminiſtration until now; at preſent, if contrary to cuſtom, you are purpoſed to overthrow my influence and authority in the countries of Bengal, &c. it is a means of deſtroying our friendſhip. There never has been a factory of yours at Rungpoor, and the power too which ye have given

to the chief, ye would have raiſed there, of hearing and determining all cauſes in the country round about, is altogether foreign to any agreement or grant you have. If ye are reſolved to act contrary to all agreement, how will my authority and influence be kept there? And my officers being there, is altogether needleſs.

WHEREFORE thoſe places, whither you are to ſend chiefs, and to direct the adminiſtration of all cauſes, and the magiſtrature in ſuch a manner, you ought, firſt, to adviſe me of, for the removal of my officers, that I may call them thence, and deliver the buſineſs of the place into your hands; becauſe, from there being two rulers in the ſame diſtrict, the country and inhabitants are ruined and oppreſſed.

FIFTHLY, Whenever we have agreed together, to our mutual ſatisfaction, there will be no neceſſity for your deputy remaining at my court, as a ſingle letter, for theſe two or three years paſt, has ſufficed for every thing that has happened.

SIXTHLY, IN the treaty between us, as it ſhall have been mentioned, either for the

the expence of the Company's troops, or as a jagheer, I will perform accordingly.

SEVENTHLY, The revenues ariſing from all the provinces are received in Sunwaut rupees. The payment of my troops is alſo in the ſame ſpecies, as well as all other charges of the Nizamut great or ſmall; and I have never moleſted any one for the revenues in Sicca rupees, coined either at Moorſhedabad, Patna or Calcutta. Moreover, the ſhroffs and merchants are no one's ſervants, but for the ſake of a ſmall profit, deal one with the other. Let every man of his own fancy buy and ſell whatever he pleaſes, I ſhall interrupt no one.

EIGHTHLY, All the money that Mahomed Reza Cawn had collected from Chittagong, ſince it has been made over to the Company, is paid into their caſh, as I have your receipt for it.

NINTHLY, In the diſtricts, dependent on the Nizamut, be pleaſed to ſee an account of the very many of my people plundered and maſſacred by your folks. When ye ſhall have given ſatisfaction for

the

the whole, and punished your folks accordingly, I will immediately send for Lawl Shaw, whereſoever he may be found, altho' he is no ſervant of mine, and have him properly puniſhed before you two gentlemen.

TENTHLY, It has ever been a cuſtom for the Sects to attend upon the Nazim. At this time, on account of the inſinuations of evil ſpeakers, they were become miſtruſtful of me, and afraid to come near me, therefore I ſent for them hither. Whereſoever I am to be, there alſo will theſe gentlemen be, according to cuſtom, and have their buſineſs carried on.

ELEVENTHLY, The Company's adherence to their promiſe was evident to all men. I alſo thought you do what you ſay, and do not go back from your word. At preſent it ſeems, as tho' you keep neither promiſe nor treaty for a ſingle year, nay, a month or a day. Now that you have written and brought me theſe demands, what article of them reſts upon me, that you require a public writing of me? I have not, by any means,

broken

broken my word; ye receded from your promiſe, and fain would again make a new treaty and agreement. It is neceſſary too, that what will make me eaſy be conſidered in the treaty. If you allow me the management of the Nizamut, leave in Patna, and other places, the people neceſſary for conducting the buſineſs of your factory, as you formerly uſed to do, and remove all Engliſh troops and ſeepoys wherever ſtationed. I ſhall never be backward in promoting and aſſiſting the buſineſs that properly concerns you."

Extract of a Letter from Meſſ. Amyatt *and* Hay *to the Board. Dated* May 29, 1763.

"NOTWITHSTANDING our repeated remonſtrances to his Excellency, ſetting forth the hoſtility of the action, he has not yet releaſed the boats with the arms; neither doth he ſhew the leaſt confidence in what we ſay, and declares (at the ſame time hinting to us the former revolution) he ſhall not place

any

any in us, till we remove the detachment from Patna to Mongheer.

WE beg leave to offer it as our opinion, that the having the troops intended to be quartered in this province, ſtationed here, would be very adviſeable, but cannot be thought of, till ſuch time as he complies with our demands, as it is probably made by caprice, or with deſign."

Copy of a Letter from Meſſ. Amyatt *and* Hay *to the Board. Dated* May 31, 1763.

"THE incloſed is a duplicate of our laſt, dated the 29th inſtant, on which day we ſent you a cypher made out here, which, we imagined, might be uſeful in carrying on a correſpondence in caſe of a rupture: a copy of the ſame was likewiſe forwarded to Mr. Ellis at Patna.

WHATEVER we urge to his Excellency, in regard to the releaſe of the boats with arms, or the neceſſity of his placing a proper confidence in us, his general reply is, that we have ſeized his aumils,

aumils, that the words of the Engliſh are not to be truſted, and that he will not releaſe the boats till ſuch time as we remove our troops from Patna, either to this place or to Calcutta. Altho' he will take no ſtep towards a reconciliation, or to give us ſatisfaction, yet he, upon all occaſions, mentions his deſire of peace; in ſhort, his aim ſeems to be entirely to gain time."

ABOUT the ſame time, the following letters were received from the Nabob.

Copy of a Letter from the Nabob *to the Governor. Dated* May 25, 1763.

"AT this time Mr. Amyatt and Mr. Hay being arrived here, have delivered a liſt, containing ſeveral demands, which are unreaſonable and foreign from former treaties and grants. I expected not, whilſt you yet remained, that I ſhould be involved in this trouble, and ſo unjuſt a negotiation; that in one year, new agreements were to be made ſo often, after the breach of the antient treaty; that upon every occaſion made

uſe

uſe of to intimidate me, I ſhould be threatened with a breach of the treaty, and vexed, and mortified without cauſe, and my affairs obſtructed. At this time, from the arzees of Meer Mehdee Cawn Behader, I am repeatedly informed, that the troops under Mr. Ellis's charge, create continual diſturbances and quarrels with my people, and daily leave a freſh root of diſſention.

FROM theſe appearances, all the tenants, and the troops which are at Patna, are ever in alarms, and taking means for their ſecurity. This has given, and ſtill gives occaſion to the people to believe, that there is no longer a friendſhip and union between us. It affords me a ſubject of continual anxiety and apprehenſion, leſt (which God forbid) theſe things ſhould produce a difference between us, and you unjuſtly reproach me. To this purpoſe, I have ſpoken to Mr. Amyatt likewiſe; but the gentlemen do not hear me nor regard what I ſay. This day I have received an arzee from Meer Mehdee Cawn, of which I

ſend

ſend you a copy for your peruſal. If you, gentlemen, intend the Engliſh army for my defence, it is proper that you call it from Patna to Calcutta, that it may be called upon in time of need, or elſe keep it with me at Mongheer, which will put an end to diſputes, and reſtore the currency of affairs between us, and ſhut up the mouths of the people from ſo many rumours. But if it is not your deſign to remove the troops from Patna, and you ſeek only to diſturb my affairs, and to awe and intimidate me, let me know it, that when I have learnt your pleaſure, I may clear my hands from every buſineſs, and all this vexation. To this purpoſe, I have expreſſed myſelf alſo to Mr. Amyatt, both by ſpeech and writing."

Copy of a Letter from Meer Mehdee Cawn *(Naib of* Patna) *to the* Nabob.

"I HAVE frequently and repeatedly adviſed your Excellency, that Mr. Ellis, and the troops which are with him, creating troubles and diſputes with the people of

of the ſircar, ſeek for a rupture; and the tenants and inhabitants of the city, and ſeepoys of this place, ſeeing this ſtate of things, are fallen into apprehenſions and alarms, and are providing for their own ſecurity. The people judging from hence, that there is no longer a friendſhip and good underſtanding between us, raiſe many reports of different kinds; and the zemindars, taking the occaſion of their not being called upon, with-hold their rents, ſo that the revenue is entirely obſtructed. I cannot deſcribe to you, how much the affairs of the Nizamut are fallen into confuſion. In whatever light you regard theſe affairs, you will graciouſly be pleaſed to iſſue your orders for the quieting of theſe diſorders and troubles; otherwiſe the whole buſineſs of the government is deſtroyed, and theſe mutual animoſities, which tend to ruin the intereſts of both parties, raiſe ſuſpicions in the minds of the people."

Copy

Copy of a Letter from the Nabob *to the Governor. Dated* May 26, 1763.

"WHEN Meſſ. Amyatt and Hay came to this place to treat, with a liſt of demands, I expected that thoſe gentlemen would inform themſelves of every particular, and put an end to all affairs and matters of contention between us. Accordingly, I ſent the aumils with Rajah Nobit Roy, and Hafiz Iſſrar Cawn, that having heard the particulars of the oppreſſions of the Engliſh gomaſtahs, they might uſe ſuch means as might ſettle every affair. Thoſe gentlemen at once plainly anſwered, that they wanted not to hear what I had to repreſent; and in the affair of the forces at Patna likewiſe, they replied, "For what ſhall we recal the forces "from thence? Nay, we will ſend o-"ther forces. If you have any deſign "to quarrel with us, we are ready." Again, Mr. Amyatt and yourſelf formerly wrote to me, that you had never ſent any muſkets or military ſtores to Patna; but the day before yeſterday, ſix boats laden

with muſkets, &c. arrived here from Calcutta.

SIR, openly to deny ſending any military ſtores, and ſecretly to ſend them in this manner, what can it mean? I have no objection to two or three hundred Engliſhmen remaining at Patna, but to keep up ſuch a force with Mr. Ellis, to ruin my affairs, is very improper; and that gentleman every day keeps his forces in readineſs, and creates troubles and quarrels with my people. Therefore I write, that I will not ſuffer a larger force than two or three hundred men to remain with Mr. Ellis. If you, gentlemen, regard your words and engagements, and the condition on which you received Burdwan, &c. from me, for the expences of your army, it is fit, that in conformity thereto, you recal the ſaid forces, and place them with me, or remove them to Calcutta. If not, write me a plain anſwer.

P. S. I am yet ready to comply with your word; but things are brought to the laſt extremity; and however deſirous I am of avoiding the worſt, yet I ſee no means

means of it, and my patience is near exhauſted. Wherefore, I write this before-hand for your information. I ſend you incloſed a copy of the anſwer, which I wrote to the liſt of demands, preſented to me by Meſſ. Amyatt and Hay."

THESE letters being laid before the Board, a general Council was held upon them on the 9th of June, in which it was reſolved, that the troops ſhould not be removed from Patna; and that if the Nabob perſiſted to demand it, or to detain the boats, Meſſ. Amyatt and Hay ſhould be directed to leave Mongheer. At the ſame time, the gentlemen of Patna were adviſed of theſe reſolutions, and ordered to act as they might be directed by Meſſ. Amyatt and Hay. For the motive of theſe reſolutions, I refer to the following extract of the debates which produced them.

Extract of Conſultation of June 9. *(Preſent Meſſ.* Batſon, Adams, Billers, Cartier, Haſtings, Marriott *and* Watts) *the Preſident indiſpoſed.*

"THE Governor ſends to the Board the following letter, which he has juſt received from Mr. Amyatt.

SIR, His Excellency has received a kellaat from the King, which the day before yeſterday he put on in form, and laſt night he made an entertainment for us on the occaſion.

THE arms ſtill continue ſtopped; they lay in boats on the oppoſite ſide of the river, ſurrounded by his ſeepoys. He ſtill inſiſts on our forces being withdrawn from Patna and other places, to convince him and all the country, of our peaceful intentions, and then he is ready to iſſue any perwannahs we pleaſe, for the forwarding our buſineſs. He does not rightly declare, which of the articles he will comply with, but I perceive he will not give ſunnuds for the lands, nor conſent to a reſident being with him, nor eſtabliſh the other mints, but will endeavor

deavor to take ſome meaſure to prevent our being ſufferers by our rupees.

He will not agree to our puniſhing his ſervants, nor do I think we ought to inſiſt upon it, but alter that article to be puniſhed by him, after our chief has heard and repreſented the caſe, and for us to chaſtiſe them, if he delays or neglects to do it. The Seets, I am perſuaded, he will keep here, nor ſuffer them to be of much conſequence in future; likely he will not uſe them ill, nor take their money at preſent. He denies the agreement with you, tho' he ſays, if he did, it is not any where in writing. He requires ſatisfaction from us, for any immediate damage done him by our people, when he is ready to make good ours, that may be proved againſt any of his aumils and chokeys, excepting Mahomed Allee, whom you have in your hands to do with as you pleaſe; he objects to our any where working or cultivating his lands, or purchaſing any thing for them at firſt-hand, it deprives him of his duties and advantages therefrom. In ſhort,

he objects to every thing; and ſays, it's our own private intereſt we want to benefit, the Company's being no where moleſted, nor does he want to moleſt it. We told him he muſt grant a free trade, which was our right; and if in any particular he was much aggrieved, or ſuffered thereby, to repreſent it to the Council, and they would reſtrain themſelves and others to ſerve him; but no reſtraints from his people would be admitted of, as under that pretence they would hurt and injure the trade. I have done my utmoſt endeavors to perſuade him to a thorough confidence, but I believe it is all in vain. I have alſo repreſented to him his danger, to as little purpoſe; he ſeems very indifferent at preſent, and no ways anxious. He ſwears he does not want to quarrel with us, and will do every thing; at the ſame time, he, in a manner, refuſes every thing. Thus matters ſtand in the ſame ſituation as at the firſt day. I believe he does not ſtop or impede the buſineſs, but will not permit arms or men to go to

Patna;

Patna; for which reaſon, we have never mentioned our troops moving for that place. A perwannah is gone to clear the petre. He ſaid, he thought the produce of that place did not belong to us.

I am, &c.

Signed P. Amyatt."

THE Preſident, at the ſame time, tranſmits to the Board his opinion of the meaſures proper to be taken, in the preſent ſituation of affairs with the Nabob.

The Governor's *Opinion.*

IF the Nabob detains the arms, it can be looked upon in no other light, than as an open act of hoſtility, and I think Meſſ. Amyatt and Hay ſhould be directed to make ſuch a final declaration to the Nabob; and if they are not then delivered up, to take their leave. But ſuppoſing the Nabob to make ſatisfaction for this ill adviſed ſtep, it ſhould be conſidered, whether his anſwers to the ſeveral articles, delivered him by Mr. Amyatt, are ſuch as ought, when coolly and ſeparately reflected on, to reſolve us to engagage the Company in a war with

the Nabob; or if it is admitted, that every article is not of ſo much conſequence, then it ſhould be conſidered, which are, and which are not, and inſtructions ſent Mr. Amyatt accordingly.

THE placing our troops with the Nabob, as he deſires, would certainly be a means of eſtabliſhing a confidence in each other, and of making that confidence appear to the world, and at the ſame time, anſwer all the purpoſes of preſerving our influence, and ſecuring the tranquility of the country.

YET, I am not for removing them upon the Nabob's demand; but if he will comply with the articles delivered him by Mr. Amyatt, or the material ones, I think this requeſt might then be granted, and that Mr. Amyatt ſhould be empowered to give him to underſtand as much.

LASTLY, if a rupture is unavoidable, the ſeaſon ſhould be conſidered, the ſtate of the treaſury, and the peace in Europe, by which the French will be repoſſeſſed of their factories. The troops from

hence,

hence, could not at this time march by land to join the detachment at Patna; therefore it may be adviſeable to defer publiſhing the reſolutions of the Board, whatever they may be.

ALL theſe papers being read and conſidered,

THE members likewiſe delivered in their opinions as follows.

Mr. Watts's *Opinion.*

THE Nabob's behavior, ſince Meſſ. Amyatt and Hay's arrival at Mongheer, leaves no room to expect he will ever enter into any terms with us; but, on the contrary, it appears from it, that he only waits for a proper opportunity to break with us; and by his ſeveral replies to the demands in Meſſ. Amyatt and Hay's letters, it is very evident he places no confidence in us; and as we have no reaſon to place any in him, I therefore think, that his demanding our troops at Patna to be recalled, ought not to be complied with. That as the rainy ſeaſon is ſo near advanced, a letter ſhould be wrote to Meſſ. Amyatt and Hay to take their leave

of

of the Nabob, and return to Calcutta or Patna, as they think proper. That they may demand the releaſe of the boats, but altho' complied with, not remain there any longer, but acquaint the Nabob, that if he has any propoſals to make, he muſt ſend them to the Preſident and Council, who will reply to them. That as ſoon as they think it will be out of the power of the Nabob to ſtop them, they ſhall write to Mr. Ellis, and the council at Patna, to follow the regulations laid down in caſe of a rupture.

THAT as the Nabob is raiſing forces every where, and it plainly appears he only wants to gain time, a letter ſhould be wrote to Patna, to acquaint the gentlemen there, that we judge a rupture unavoidable; and that, as there is reaſon to expect the Nabob will take every advantage, they have our orders, in caſe they have certain intelligence of his marching towards Patna, to take any ſteps that will diſtreſs him, and look upon him as an enemy.

THAT as he does ſuſpect the Nabob will

will attempt to detain Meſſ. Amyatt and Hay, he thinks they ought, in ſuch caſe, to have the power of declaring the rupture; and that a note from them to the chief and council at Patna, ſhould be ſufficient for their acting, as if received from the Board.

Mr. Marriott's *Opinion.*

MR. MARRIOTT is of opinion, that a letter be immediately wrote to Meſſ. Amyatt and Hay, directing them, in caſe the Nabob has not releaſed the boats, with arms to quit Mongheer, and either return to Calcutta, or go to Patna, as they may judge moſt eligible for enſuring their own ſafety; and that application to the Nabob on this occaſion ſhould be left to their diſcretion. That the troops at Patna ſhould not be removed agreeable to his demand; as their remaining at that place will prevent the Rajahs, on the borders of the province, from taking any advantage of the preſent appearance of a rupture, happening between the Nabob and us, by making an invaſion into his territories. That if the Nabob either does,

does, or has releaſed the arms, and will comply with the moſt material demands, ſome of the others might be given up, particularly thoſe mentioned by Mr. Amyatt, in his letter to the Preſident; firſt, that regarding the jagheeree ſunnuds, for the provinces of Burdwan, Midnapoor and Chittagong; as poſſeſſion and the force we maintain in the country will always ſecure them to us; ſecondly, that regarding our puniſhing his officers. This article he thinks might be altered; that application ſhould be firſt made to the Nabob, on the occaſion of any complaints againſt them, and that we ſhould only obſerve the method already laid down upon his refuſing to give us ſatisfaction for the ſame; thirdly, the article concerning the mint.

THAT in caſe Meſſ. Amyatt and Hay ſhould be obliged to leave the Nabob, orders ſhould be ſent to the gentlemen at Patna, to act agreeable to former inſtructions, unleſs they received ſome certain intelligence, that the Nabob was marching for Patna; in which caſe, they

ſhould

ſhould be ordered to act on the offenſive, and endeavor to ſeize the city by a coup de main. He further thinks, Meſſ. Amyatt and Hay ſhould hear what the Nabob has to alledge concerning the loſſes of the ſircar, by our agents or gomaſtahs.

Mr. Haſtings's *Opinion.*

THO' I have, from the beginning, expreſſed my diſapprobation of the meaſures taken in our late unhappy diſputes with the Nabob, and which have given occaſion to the temper, which he, at this time, ſhews towards us; yet, after having gone ſuch lengths, I cannot but think it very unbecoming, to ſubmit quietly to ſo open an act of violence, as he has been guilty of in the ſtoppage of the boats of arms. It is therefore my opinion, that Meſſ. Amyatt and Hay be ordered to demand of the Nobob the immediate clearance of thoſe boats, in the name of the Preſident and Council; and in caſe of his refuſal, to inform him, that it will be deemed equal to a declaration of a rupture on his ſide; and that they do accordingly take their leave of him,

him, and return to Calcutta; but if he conſents to releaſe the boats, and expreſſes a willingneſs to yield to our demands, I think we cannot in juſtice to him, or conſiſtently with the intereſt of the Company, refuſe to comply with the demand he has made, that the detachment of our forces now at Patna, may be ſtationed with him. The alarms of the people cannot be ſo effectually appeaſed, as by the appearance of a confidence, ſuch as this will occaſion, between the Nabob and us. The Nabob will derive more benefit from our influence, whilſt our troops are with him; and it will be leſs in his power to form any ill deſigns againſt us, whilſt we have ſuch a check continually upon him.

I AGREE with the Preſident, that in caſe of the Nabob's objecting to any of the demands, it ſhould be determined by the Board, what ſhould be inſiſted upon, and what may be diſpenſed with, and Meſſ. Amyatt and Hay inſtructed accordingly; in which diſtinction, the Board will doubtleſs conſider the real intereſt

and

and honor of the Company, and not involve them in a war (which muſt at all events prove of great detriment to them) for ends indifferent or inadequate to the expence and riſk which may accrue to them from it. I am likewiſe of opinion, that if Meſſ. Amyatt and Hay find the Nabob in a proper temper to yield to the propoſals offered him, they may privately ſignify to him, that the Board will conſent to the removal of the Patna detachment as he deſires, provided he firſt complies with our demands.

Mr. Cartier's *Opinion.*

MR. CARTIER judges it adviſeable, that Mr. Amyatt and Hay ſhould be immediately recalled from Mongheer, as it appears to him, from the advices received from thoſe gentlemen, that the Nabob has no other deſign by prevailing upon them to ſtay (after a flat refuſal almoſt of every demand they were empowered to make, and the hoſtile act of detaining the arms ſending to the Patna factory) than to gain time to anſwer ſome purpoſe, that may be very prejudicial to

our

our affairs. That it appears to him a very probable circumſtance, the Nabob's principal view, is to engage us in a ſcene of negotiation, till ſuch time as the ſeaſon of the year will render any military operation nearly impracticable; which, when the caſe, he will have it in his power to bend his whole force to oppreſs our troops at Patna. That the party there ſhould by no means be removed from that place, in compliance with the Nabob's requeſt, at this preſent juncture. That if Meſſ. Amyatt and Hay are allowed to quit Mongheer, without concluding the buſineſs they were ſent on, it is his opinion, the army (when thoſe gentlemen are ſo far advanced on their way as to be out of danger) ſhould be immediately ordered to march to Coſſimbuzar, and take poſt there, which will be the means of preſerving the health of the people; and by ſuch a motion of the troops, the Nabob will be convinced, that ſomething more is deſigned, than mere negotiation.

Mr.

Mr. Billers's *Opinion.*

MR. BILLERS is of opinion, that as the Nabob ſtill perſiſts in detaining the arms, it ſhould be looked upon as an act of hoſtility. That Meſſ. Amyatt and Hay ſhould therefore be immediately directed to leave Mongheer; and that our army ſhould march to Coſſimbuzar; for it at preſent ſeems, as if the Nabob only wanted to gain time, and endeavored to embarraſs us as much as poſſible, by the rains coming on. He thinks the troops at Patna, ought by no means to be removed at this juncture; and that if Meſſ. Amyatt and Hay ſhould quit Mongheer, the Patna gentlemen ſhould be permitted to take ſuch meaſures, as they may judge beſt for their own ſafety, and the Company's intereſt.

Major Adams's *Opinion.*

MAJOR ADAMS is of opinion, that the troops ſhould by no means, for the preſent, be removed from Patna, but that it ſhould be left to the pleaſure of the Board, to diſpoſe of them as they think proper, if matters can be amica-

bly accommodated. That any particular articles of the demands, which the Nabob moſtly objects to, ſhould be tranſmitted to the Board, with his reaſons, that they may be reconſidered, and it be determined, whether they ſhall ſtill be inſiſted on, or may not be moderated; but before any regard is paid to either of theſe points, he thinks orders ſhould be ſent to Meſſ. Amyatt and Hay, to demand the releaſe of the arms; and, at the ſame time, acquaint the Nabob, that ſhould it not be immediately complied with, they have orders to leave his court. That they will make this demand and intimation, if they think it conſiſtent with their own ſafety; otherwiſe, retire to Patna, or take ſuch other rout, as they may judge moſt eligible and conducive to their own ſecurity; and when they find themſelves out of his power, to tranſmit him in writing the orders of the Board; and, laſtly, that if Meſſ. Amyatt and Hay quit Mongheer, the gentlemen at Patna ſhould be left to act as they judge moſt proper for their own ſecurity, and the Company's intereſt. *Mr.*

Mr. Batſon's Opinion.

I AM of opinion, that we can by no means conſent to withdraw our troops from Patna. That the Nabob's deſire of having them with him at Mongheer is inſincere, his real deſign being only to get them removed from Patna, that our withdrawing them will be a great ſtep towards running entirely our influence and power in the country; and therefore I eſteem it highly detrimental and diſhonorable to the Company and nation.

I AM further of opinion, that the Nabob's evil diſpoſition towards our nation, is evident beyond diſpute; nay, that it is avowed by his inſiſting on our withdrawing our troops from Patna, and by the act of hoſtility he has already committed in ſeizing our arms. That it will be weakneſs to think of treating any longer with him, as he has refuſed ſeveral times to comply with our demands; and all his anſwers are filled with ſneers, reproaches and calumnies. That therefore Meſſ. Amyatt and Hay ſhould be directed to endeavor, by ſtratagem or otherwiſe, to get the arms releaſed if

poſſible, and to return to Calcutta as ſoon as they can, or to go to Patna, if they judge the former impracticable. That on their departure, they ſhould adviſe the gentlemen at Patna, and direct them to act as they may judge beſt for the ſervice.

Queſtions propoſed.

THE ſeveral opinions being read; to render the reſolutions to be taken more clear, the following diſtinct queſtions were ſtated and put at the Board.

QUESTION I. Shall the Nabob's demand, of removing the detachment from Patna, be conſented to, or not?

ANSWER, The Board unanimouſly think it ought not.

QUEST. II. In caſe of the Nabob's compliance with our demands, ſhall the Patna detachment be removed and ſtationed at Mongheer, or not?

ANSW. The majority, viz. Meſſ. Watts, Cartier, Billers and Batſon think it ought not.

QUEST. III. Shall Meſſ. Amyatt and Hay be directed to leave Mongheer, immediately on the receipt of the letter

we now ſend them, or remain to treat further with the Nabob?

ANSW. The majority, viz. Meſſ. Marriott, Haſtings, Billers and major Adams, are of opinion, that if the arms are not releaſed, they ſhould come away; if they are, that they ſhould ſtay to treat further; and that it ſhould reſt in their option to make a freſh demand of their releaſe, or not. Meſſ. Watts, Cartier and Batſon think, they ought to return immediately on the receipt of the orders now to be ſent them.

QUES. IV. If the Nabob continues to inſiſt on the removal of the troops, as a preliminary to his entering upon any treaty, altho' he releaſe the arms, ſhall Meſſ. Amyatt and Hay remain to treat further with him, or not?

ANSW. All the members except Mr. Haſtings think, that they ought in ſuch caſe immediately to leave Mongheer.

Mr. Haſtings's *Diſſent.*

MR. HASTINGS diſſents, becauſe he has given his opinion, that the troops might be removed from Patna; and does

not think, that the Nabob's refuſal to any one of the demands is ſufficient to juſtify our breaking with him.

Reſolution of the Majority.

AGREED, that Meſſ. Amyatt and Hay be wrote to in the following terms. That we cannot conſent to the Nabob's demand of removing the troops from Patna; and therefore, if he perſiſts in making that a preliminary, and refuſes to treat on other terms, or to releaſe the boats of arms, they are, in either caſe, immediately to leave Mongheer, and return to Calcutta, if they think it practicable; or otherwiſe take ſuch other rout, as they may judge moſt eligible for their ſafety. That if they think it unſafe to notify theſe reſolutions to the Nabob, and that it may induce him to detain them at Mongheer, we permit them to come away without mentioning our reſolution any further to him.

THAT on their departure from Mongheer, they are to adviſe us and the gentlemen at Patna, directing them to be upon their guard, and to act in the manner

ner they judge moſt proper for their own ſecurity, in caſe the Nabob marches or ſends any troops to attack them.

AGREED, that we write likewiſe to Patna, and incloſe them a copy of theſe order to Meſſ. Amyatt and Hay, and deſire them to act as they may be directed by thoſe gentlemen.

Mr. Haſtings's *Diſſent.*

I ENTER my diſſent to the two laſt paragraphs of the letter, ordered to be wrote to Meſſ. Amyatt and Hay, for the following reaſons.

THO' I cannot believe, that Meſſ. Amyatt and Hay deſire ſuch a permiſſion, as is here given them to leave the Nabob, without informing him of the reſolution of the Board, in caſe of his perſiſting to detain the arms, or to demand, as a preliminary, the removal of our troops from Patna; yet I think it very unbecoming in the Board, to grant them ſuch permiſſion. After having entered into a treaty with the Nabob, and flattered him with repeated aſſurances of our deſire of an accommodation, abruptly to break it off,

and declare war againſt him (ſince one is made a conſequence of the other) without letting him know the terms on which our friendſhip depends; what is this, but to inſnare the Nabob into a rupture which he might avoid, if he was certain, that his inſiſting on thoſe points would be the cauſe of one; and which, I am convinced, he would wiſh to avoid, by every conceſſion that ſhould be required of him, as the means of peace, ſince he has no force to oppoſe us, and it is well known he has no dependence, and can have none, but on our friendſhip.

I CANNOT, for my own part, ſee how Meſſ. Amyatt and Hay ſhould run a greater riſk now than hitherto, from a free declaration of the ſentiments of the Board, to the Nabob; nor can I ſee any reaſon to ſuſpect him, of forming any treacherous deſigns againſt the perſons of thoſe gentlemen, as I know of no act of his, that can juſtify that opinion of him, and ſuch an attempt if made, could anſwer no end.

THE order given to the chief and council

council at Patna, to take ſuch meaſures as they think proper for their ſecurity, in caſe of the Nabob's marching, or ſending any forces to attack them, is authoriſing thoſe gentlemen to commit open hoſtilities againſt the Nabob, on the firſt pretence offered them, by the march of a few men from Mongheer to Patna, or the falſe reports of their hircarras, who may tell them, that the Nabob, or his forces, are on the road to attack them. Till therefore they are openly attacked, or the Board have declared war againſt the Nabob, I object to any power put into their hands to commence a war themſelves."

IT will be remarked, that I was not preſent myſelf at this conſultation, having been for ſome days confined by ſickneſs, and therefore knew not of the reſolutions of the Board, till acquainted with them afterwards by the ſecretary, whom I deſired to ſummon another meeting of the Council the next day; and detained the diſpatches, that this matter might

be

be reconſidered, as I judged the orders ſent to Meſſ. Amyatt and Hay precipitate; and that they ſhut out all poſſibility of an accommodation, altho' the Nabob ſhould be inclined to it. The Council being met, I ſent in my opinion in a letter to the ſecretary; which being read at the Board, produced the alteration which I propoſed in the orders to Meſſ. Amyatt and Hay.

THE following is an extract from the conſultation of my letter to the ſecretary, and the reſolutions taken in conſequence of it.

Extract of Conſultation of June 10. *Preſent Meſſ.* Billers, Adams, Cartier *and* Marriott.

"THE ſecretary lays before the Board the following letter, which he this morning received from the Governor.

SIR, As my late indiſpoſition prevents my attending the Board, I muſt take this method of delivering my opinion upon the inſtructions, which ſhould be

be ſent to Meſſ. Amyatt and Hay, in anſwer to the laſt advices received from them.

If the Nabob perſiſts in detaining the boats with arms, I think it muſt be deemed a declared act of hoſtility, and Meſſ. Amyatt and Hay directed, in ſuch caſe, to take their leave. If the Nabob refuſes to treat further with thoſe gentlemen, without our removing the troops from Patna, by way of preliminary, I think, in that caſe likewiſe, they ſhould take their leave, as I am not for conſenting to make any change in the ſtation of our troops upon ſuch demand. But ſuppoſing the arms to be releaſed, and that Meſſ. Amyatt and Hay find the Nabob in a diſpoſition to treat, without inſiſting on the removal of our troops from Patna, as a preliminary; then, I think, thoſe gentlemen ſhould be furniſhed with inſtructions what further to ſay to the Nabob; and thoſe inſtructions, I think, ſhould be, with reſpect to the troops at Patna, to repreſent to the Nabob, that they were ſtationed there with a view of

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being in readiness to aſſiſt him, whenever his affairs might require it, and that they ſhould be ready to act in conformity to that view, as ſoon as the preſent differences between us were accommodated. They ſhould be further directed to call upon the Nabob, for his particular objections to the ſeveral articles or demands delivered him; and having tranſmitted the ſame to the Board, it ſhould be conſidered which are material to be inſiſted on.

Some anſwer ſhould likewiſe be ſent to Meſſ. Amyatt and Hay, regarding Mahomed Allee, and the other officers of the government, at preſent kept here priſoners. The Nabob ſays, as we have ſeized them, and have them in our hands, we may take our own ſatisfaction for the loſſes ſome have ſuffered in their private trade. We ſhould either tell Meſſ. Amyatt and Hay, that we will do ſo, or elſe we ſhould ſend thoſe officers up to them, with inſtructions to deliver them to the Nabob, deſiring him to oblige them to make good ſuch loſſes; at the ſame time, receiving from the government's

officers,

officers, the accounts of loſſes they ſay they have ſuffered by the violence of Engliſh agents and gomaſtahs; and this ſecond method, I think, the moſt proper.

NEITHER the Company's, nor private trade, meet at preſent with any interruption. This is an eſſential reaſon, why we ought to avoid, if poſſible, engaging our employers in an expenſive war, and involving the country in troubles, to their great loſs, as well as that of the ſettlement in general.

THE low ſtate of our treaſury, and the peace in Europe, by which the French will be repoſſeſſed of their ſettlements in this country, are, in my opinion, other ſtrong reaſons, why we ſhould, if poſſible, keep on good terms with the Nabob.

FINALLY, I think, that further inſtructions ſhould be ſent to the gentlemen at Patna, concerning their manner of acting, in caſe a rupture with the Nabob ſhould be unavoidable; with reference, I mean, to the ſeaſon, which would prevent the troops from hence marching by land to join thoſe at Patna; and going

up

up by boats, would take a long time. Upon this article, I ſubmit myſelf to the judgment of major Adams.

THE ſame being read and conſidered.

Reſolution of the Board.

AGREED, That we write in conſequence, a further letter to Meſſ. Amyatt and Hay, acquainting them, that ſuppoſing the arms to be releaſed, and they ſhould find the Nabob inclinable ſtill to treat, without inſiſting on the removal of the troops from Patna, as a preliminary, they may aſſure him that thoſe troops have been always ſtationed there for the ſecurity of his government, and to maintain the tranquillity of the country; and that they ſhall ſtill continue to act in conformity to this view. That they ſhall then call upon the Nabob for his particular objections to the ſeveral articles or demands delivered him, and tranſmit them to us, when we ſhall conſider and determine, which of them are ſo material as to require being ſtill inſiſted on, and which may be moderated; that if the Nabob ſhould again make

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mention of Mahomed Allee, and the other priſoners here, we leave it to them to judge whether we had beſt proſecute the enquiry againſt them ourſelves, or ſend them up to them, to have it finiſhed in preſence of the Nabob, and to give him their anſwers accordingly; that they may receive from the government's officers, the account of any loſſes they ſay they have ſuſtained, by the violence of the Engliſh agents and gomaſtahs, upon their being properly authenticated; and again aſſure the Nabob, that for whatever appears to be juſt, he ſhall receive full ſatisfaction. On the further ſubject of the Governor's letter, the Board are of opinion, that their utmoſt endeavors have been already uſed to prevent the country's being involved in troubles, or their employers engaged in an expenſive war: that they can now leave it only to time to ſatisfy them, whether theſe endeavors will prove effectual. That the circumſtance of a peace in Europe, and the ſuppoſition drawn from thence, that the French will obtain their reſettlements here,

here, is rather a ſtrong reaſon, why we ſhould employ the moſt ſpirited methods, to become immediately aſſured of the Nabob's intentions and diſpoſition towards us, and not delay time in a fruitleſs negotiation. That with regard to the laſt paragraph of the Governor's letter, referred to the judgment of major Adams; the major, with the reſt of the members, think it unneceſſary to ſend further inſtructions to Patna, than thoſe contained in the letter of yeſterday to Meſſ. Amyatt and Hay, and whereof a copy was tranſmitted to that factory.

ON the 13th we received a letter from Meſſ. Amyatt and Hay, giving a very different account of the Nabob's diſpoſition, from that contained in Mr. Amyatt's letter to me, received four days before. They adviſed now, that "the "arms ſtill continued under ſeizure. "That all converſation with the Nabob, "upon buſineſs, was at a ſtand. That "the Nabob, buoyed up with the no-"tion of his own ſtrength, ſhewed, by

"all

" all his actions, that he was reſolved
" on a rupture, which they now looked
" upon as unavoidable; and therefore,
" wiſhed us to remove them out of his
" power as ſoon as poſſible." In anſwer, we recommended to them, to temporize in any manner they could, to get themſelves out of the Nabob's hands, in caſe they ſtill judged a rupture unavoidable, and that he deſigned to detain them. On the 17th, we received a letter from the ſame gentlemen, which confirmed their former ſentiments; and the ſame day, the following letters were received from Mr. Ellis, which brought the proſpect of war but nearer to our view, and left the Board nothing now to do, but approve of his meaſures, and wait the iſſue.

Copy of a Letter from Mr. Ellis *to the Governor and Council. Dated* June 5, 1763.

" THE Nabob, whoſe brain it ever teeming with inventions, to diſtreſs, and render us ſubſervient to his

tyranny, has now hit upon a method of doing it very effectually, by inveigling away our ſeepoys. His emiſſaries, employed on this ſervice, promiſe to the private men double the pay we give, advancing them one month; and to the officers, a promotion in rank: and ſo well hath his ſcheme ſucceeded, that we have loſt 200 men ſince the firſt inſtant; amongſt whom are many officers, and the remainder old ſeepoys, perfectly verſed in our diſcipline.

IT is now near four months, that we have been in a moſt perplexing ſtate of ſuſpence, juſt between the bounds of peace and war, with the government here; and during that time, have patiently borne the many inſults daily offered us; inſomuch, that our people begin to think, and with ſome appearance of reaſon, that we cannot do ourſelves juſtice; which is another motive for their going over to the Nabob.

THIS, gentlemen, merits your moſt ſerious and immediate conſideration; for I do aſſure you, if we remain much longer

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in the ſituation we have been in for ſome time paſt, there will not be 500 old ſeepoys left in the two battalions here (which I can ſafely ſay, were inferior to none in the ſervice) and the unhappy conſequences that may attend our acting with a parcel of raw, undiſciplined people, againſt thoſe whom we have taught to be ſoldiers, are ſufficiently obvious.

THE Nabob, in order to bring every force againſt us, which it is poſſible to collect, has made up matters with Comgar Cawn, and put him in poſſeſſion of the country he before held. The ſeepoys, who were ſtationed there, to the number of about 1000, arrived here this day."

Copy of a Letter from Mr. Ellis *to the Governor and Council. Dated* June 6, 1763.

"OUR ſeepoys ſtill continuing to deſert in great numbers, I have judged it moſt expedient, and for the good of the ſervice, to order the whole party to hold themſelves in readineſs to

march at a moment's warning, and have thereby entitled them to Batta.

THIS is the only means of putting a ſtop to the deſertion; and if it has the deſired effect, will be well worth the expence."

THE next day, we received two more letters from Meſſ. Amyatt and Hay, containing an account of an affront offered to ſome of the gentlemen of their company, by the Nabob's chokies; and mentioning, that the Nabob ſtill inſiſted on the removal of our troops from Patna, and ſatisfaction for his grievances; that parties of horſe were ſtationed all round them to prevent their eſcape; and 5000 men were detached to Bengal; with other circumſtances, confirming their opinion that the Nabob would not treat.

IT appearing to the Board, that there was the ſtrongeſt reaſon to apprehend our diſputes with the Nabob would end in a rupture, it was thought neceſſary to form a plan for the conduct of the war, whenever it ſhould break out.

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THE following diſpoſition was reſolved upon accordingly; with which Meſſ. Amyatt and Hay were acquainted, and again directed to leave Mongheer as they could.

Extract of Conſultation of June 18, 1763.

Preſent Meſſ. Vanſittart, Adams, Billers, Cartier, Haſtings, Marriott *and* Watts.

"IT is agreed, in order to form a front for the protection of the Company's aurungs and lands, to ſecure their inveſtment and revenues in the beſt manner poſſible, and to endeavor to collect what we can from the other provinces, to anſwer the expence of the war, that our troops be immediately prepared for taking poſt, according to the following diſpoſition.

CAPTAIN KNOX, with his detachment, in the province of Beerboom; a detachment of 200 of the Company's troops, and 300 ſeepoys, in the province of Nuddeea or Kiſſnagur; the body of the army from Gherettee, at Coſſimbu-

zar; to poſſeſs themſelves of the city of Moorſhedabad. That in this diſpoſition, the troops ſhall march as nearly as poſſible in a line, ſo as to be able to ſupport each other, and the whole to act under the orders of major Adams.

THE diſtance of captain Knox's preſent ſtation at Jellaſore being conſiderable,

AGREED, That whilſt the other preparations are making, he be directed to march to Midnapoor, and there wait with his party in readineſs for moving, until he ſhall receive our further orders, leaving behind him one company of ſeepoys and two or three gunners, to defend the poſt at Jellaſore."

As there was now ſo great an appearance of an approaching rupture, it was judged neceſſary to come to ſome certain reſolution with reſpect to the government of the country on ſuch an event. Suppoſing the removal of Meer Coſſim from the ſubadarree ſhould be the iſſue; likewiſe, with reſpect to the precautions which ſhould be taken, for reimburſing

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to the Company the expence of the impending war; and to private merchants, the loſſes which they might ſuſtain in their concerns in the country. On theſe points the ſeveral members were to come prepared with their opinions, to the next meeting, which was held accordingly on the 20th, and the following are their opinions."

Extract of Conſultation of June 20, 1763.

Preſent Meſſ. Vanſittart, Adams, Billers, Cartier, Haſtings, Marriott *and* Watts.

Mr. Watts's *Opinion.*

"MR. WATTS is of opinion, that ſhould a rupture be unavoidable, the beſt method would be taking of the government into our own hands, on account of the Company; but as the keeping of it, and the ſettling it properly, will require a large force, he thinks it at preſent impracticable, and that the attempting it would be running a riſk of involving the country in a ſcene of war, which, with our preſent force, we could not ſoon put a ſtop to. He therefore

judges, that the moſt adviſeable method will be the fixing upon a proper perſon who has ſome influence in the country; but that before we declare him, a treaty ought to be made, and every precaution taken to prevent any diſputes hereafter, which will be unavoidable, if the limits of each party's power are not fixed, as alſo the liberties of our trade ſettled. Theſe two points require much conſideration, and as each party muſt give up ſomething to the other, he begs leave to defer giving his further ſentiments at preſent.

THE perſon who ſhall be appointed, ſhould pay to the Company the charges that may attend the war; but as it cannot be expected he will, or it may ſo happen that he will not have ready money to anſwer this, and the many other demands he will have on him, at arriving to the government; and the preſſing him for the payment might give uneaſineſs; he thinks a grant of certain lands might be given the Company for ever; and he would prefer the following, as they may

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be maintained with a very little expence, are almoſt ſecure againſt any invaſion, and are thoſe in which the greateſt part of the Company's goods are manufactured; all the lands bounded on the weſt, by the Hoogly river; on the north, by the Jillinguy river; on the eaſt, by the Pudda; and on the ſouth, by the ſea.

ALL lands and cities which lie between the ſouth bank of the Magna, or any other great river to the northward of the city of Dacca and the ſea; and as far eaſt, as that river may run.

HE alſo thinks, that the perſon fixed upon, ſhould make reſtitution for all private loſſes.

Mr. Marriott's *Opinion.*

IN regard to the ſettling the country, in caſe of a rupture with the Nabob, and the removal of him from the ſubahſhip, which now appears unavoidable; the firſt diſpoſition that occurs, is the taking the country into our own hands, calling ourſelves Dewan for the King, and applying to him accordingly for ſunnuds, promiſing and paying him his annual revenues,

nues, for the provinces of Bengal, Bahar and Oriſſa, as former Nabobs uſed to do, and which latter ones have never done. This diſpoſition, however, is liable to many objections, and at preſent impracticable, as our whole force is very inſufficient, to keep poſſeſſion of ſuch a tract of country.

THE next method that occurs, is the fixing on another man as Nabob, who may be more under our direction than the preſent. For there appears no medium can be obſerved; we muſt either govern him, or he will us; and we muſt ſubmit to have affairs upon the footing they were in Serajah Dowla's time, if ſuch a ſtep is not followed.

IF putting another Subah in the government is approved, the next thing to be conſidered, is the perſon proper for this purpoſe; and being unacquainted with any of the preſent Nabob's Jemmatdars, or other men of family in the country, I can think of no one but the late Nabob, whoſe chief cauſe for reſigning the Subahſhip being then removed, he would

would take the weight of government again on himſelf, and agree to what we might propoſe, which I think need only be the demands now made upon Coſſim Allee Cawn, with a ſtipulation of the number of troops he ſhould keep up, and alſo of the number of ours he ſhould have about his perſon.

WITH regard to the reimburſing the Company, for the expences of the war, a calculation ſhould be made of them, as near as poſſible, and ſuch a ſum required for the payment, either in money, or in the revenues of a tract of lands, held and collected by the Company, till ſuch ſum was diſcharged. It ſhould likewiſe be ſtipulated, that the perſon promoted ſhould make good the loſſes private perſons may ſuſtain on this occaſion; but the neceſſary amount cannot be determined on at preſent; and that he ſhould make a gratuity in money to the military for their ſervices. Many objections I am ſenſible may be ſtarted againſt reinſtating the old Nabob; one, our Honorable Maſters approved of the late change; but yet, if their noble

acquiſitions

acquiſitions are continued to them, and tranquility reſtored in the country, I flatter myſelf they will not object to the name of Meer Jaffier Allee, whoſe natural reſentment againſt us may be changed; and if it ſhould not, it may be curbed, by keeping always ſome of our troops with him. The late Nabob's weak capacity, that was made an argument againſt him, I think would, conſiſtent with good politics, rather plead in his favor, as it certainly can never be the Company's intereſt to have an enterprizing Nabob, for the Subah of theſe provinces; it being ſo natural for a man, in that ſtation, to endeavor at all rates to render himſelf independent.

Mr. Haſtings's *Opinion.*

WHATEVER be the event of a war with the Nabob, which I yet hope may be avoided, as I have ever declared againſt all the meaſures that have led to it, I might well decline giving my opinion, with reſpect to the fitteſt eſtabliſhment to take place upon the ſubverſion of the preſent. But I muſt confeſs this a point

of

of ſuch difficulty, that I muſt of neceſſity leave it to abilities ſuperior to my own, to point out ſuch a proviſion as may ſerve both to remedy the diviſions, and prevent the bloodſhed, which ſuch a change will introduce in the country, and to preſerve the Engliſh name, and the Company from ſinking with the weight of their own acquiſitions. Theſe conſequences I think unavoidable, tho' there is little likelihood that our diſpute with the Nabob will be of long duration, or give us much trouble.

FOR reimburſing the Company's expences, and the loſs which their trade, as well as that of private merchants may ſuſtain, in the courſe of the war, care ſhould be taken to aſſign a proper and limited fund for that purpoſe, which may be determined upon, whenever the plan is fixed for the operations of the war.

Mr. Cartier's *Opinion.*

THE keeping of this immenſe tract of country for the uſe and ſervice of the Honorable Company, would lead us into ſuch a ſcene of difficulties, as we ſhould not

not eaſily get over; nor do I think the civil or military body, on this eſtabliſhment, ſufficiently large for the management and protection of the ſame, which would be the means of giving birth to endleſs wars and oppreſſions, and produce diſaffections among the natives; theſe, among other reaſons that might be urged, are ſufficient with me to diſapprove a ſtep of this nature; but a war being in my opinion now unavoidable, it becomes neceſſary to conſider what meaſures are moſt likely to bring it to a ſpeedy concluſion, as well as thoſe which may tend to ſupport us in its duration. It is therefore, in my opinion, abſolutely neceſſary we aim to form, or fix an alliance with ſuch officers, as may be in or out of employ, under the preſent government, whoſe influence or credit might be of real ſervice; and that we immediately declare in favor of ſome perſon, as Subah of this province, whoſe intereſt in it might facilitate the method of gaining over theſe officers. The reſtoring of Meer Jaffier Allee Cawn to his former dignity, would

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be the moſt likely means of effecting thoſe ends, and in all human probability moſt agreeable to the country. It would furthermore be doing an act of juſtice to a man, who, in my opinion, never injured us.

THO' I declare in favor of Meer Jaffier Allee Cawn, I think we ought to regulate certain matters with him, as might tend to a ſolid eſtabliſhment of his government, and preſerve our own influence; which, if not abuſed, the reſtrictions we may ſubject him to, will, I hope, be conſidered as a method beſt adapted to continue a laſting peace in the country. The reſtrictions are as follows.

FIRST, That his ſtanding army ſhould not exceed 5000 effective horſe, and 10,000 gunmen; and this body to be diſtributed on the different frontiers of his country. That his conſtant reſidence be at Moorſhedabad, and that no more than 500 horſe, and 2000 gunmen, do take poſt there. Mongheer to be evacuated by the court of his Excellency, and to be garriſoned as a fort. That a corps of 250 Europe-

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ans, and a battalion of ſeepoys, be always in cantonments at Coſſimbuzar, for the protection of his Excellency's perſon, in caſe of neceſſity.

SECONDLY, That a treaty, previous to the operations of our army, ſhould be ſettled with the Nabob, on the above points; likewiſe, as to the grant of jagheer ſunnuds, for the three provinces of Burdwan, Midnapoor and Chittagong; the ſettling of our trade, on the footing we demand it to be on, till the pleaſure of the Company is known; and a ratification of the reſt of the ſeveral demands made on Coſſim Allee Cawn, which we may think indiſpenſably neceſſary to ſtick to. That the expences of the war be defrayed by the Nabob, and indemnification for all real loſſes that may be ſuſtained by private perſons of this ſettlement, in the courſe of the war, and ſince the commencement of theſe diſputes, if owing to them; the capture of whatever treaſure may be made from the preſent Nabob, to belong to Meer Jaffier, to enable him to anſwer the above diſburſements,

burſements, and to make a gratification to the troops of his Majeſty, and thoſe of the Company.

Mr. Billers's *Opinion.*

MR. BILLERS gives it as his opinion, that (if the preſent Nabob, in conſequence of a war is removed from the ſubahſhip) a perſon of influence ſhould be put in poſſeſſion of the government; for, on a declaration of ſuch our intention, it is to be imagined many of the zemindars, that are diſaffected with the preſent Subah, would declare themſelves in our favor. He would have ſuch perſon put under proper reſtrictions; likewiſe thoſe ſunnuds for the lands, now called tuncaws, changed into jagheeree ſunnuds, and confirmed by him as ſuch; and the ſeveral remaining articles inſiſted on from the preſent Nabob, ratified by him. That he ſhould be obliged to hold his court at Moorſhedabad, and evacuate Mongheer, and only look upon it as a frontier town, and guard it as ſuch; he ſhould be allowed a proper number of troops to guard the three provinces, and collect his re-

venues, which number ſhould be ſettled by the Governor and Council, and limited ſo, as to put it out of his power to hurt the Engliſh. He ſhould be put in poſſeſſion of all the treaſure that may be found in Mongheer, and ſuch riches as may belong to the preſent Nabob. For reimburſing the expences of the Company, and loſſes ſuſtained by private people, he ſhould be obliged to allow a certain ſum, which may be hereafter ſtipulated.

He (Mr. Billers) is called upon to nominate a man, he thinks the former Nabob, Meer Jaffier Allee Cawn, in every reſpect, a very proper perſon.

He is further of opinion, that a proper recompence ſhould be made, both to the King's and Company's troops, for putting the perſon fixed upon in full poſſeſſion of the government.

Major Adams's *Opinion.*

If it ſhould be deemed neceſſary to remove the Nabob, in conſequence of a war, I think it will be requiſite to ſet ſome perſon up in oppoſition to him, whoſe influence in the country may draw

to his, and our aſſiſtance, many of the Nabob's officers. As I am not acquainted with either the influence or abilities of the principal men of the country, I beg to refer to the ſentiments of the other gentlemen at the Board, whoſe perſonal acquaintance with them, and knowledge of their characters, enables them to judge who would be the propereſt perſon to treat with, on an affair of ſuch importance.

THE perſon nominated ſhould, I think, be laid under ſuch reſtrictions, as to render him incapable of diſturbing the trade or tranquility of the country, and oblige him to reimburſe the Company the whole expence of the war, and ſatisfy the private merchants for the loſſes they may ſuſtain; but that no ſtep ſhould be taken in the affair, until the Board have received anſwers to their letters, written to Meſſ. Amyatt and Hay on the 9th and 10th inſtant.

The Preſident's Opinion.

ALTHO' ſome of the demands made upon the Nabob, and which have occaſioned his preſent ill diſpoſition, are ſuch,

as I have always diſapproved and thought unjuſt, and ſuch as the Company's intereſts are no ways concerned in; yet, I hoped, and believed the Nabob would have acquieſced therein, and waited with patience, till an anſwer could be received from the Court of Directors. But as he is ſo raſh and ill-adviſed, as to commit acts of violence againſt us, of ſuch a nature, as portend a total rupture, I ſhall uſe all diligence in forwarding the neceſſary preparations for ſuch an event; and notwithſtanding my diſapprobation of the ſteps, by which this war is likely to be brought on, at a time, when the Company's buſineſs meets with no interruption; yet, when hoſtilities do unavoidably commence, no one will be more forward in promoting ſuch vigorous meaſures, as ſeem moſt conducive to bring it to a ſpeedy iſſue.

WHILE ſuch meaſures are purſuing, and we are in a ſtate of war, I ſhall think it my duty to remain here; but as ſoon as I ſee our Honorable Maſters affairs reſtored to a ſtate of ſecurity and tranquility,

lity, I am determined to quit the chair, as I will never be concerned in a ſecond regulation of the government of theſe provinces, after the depoſing of Coſſim Allee Cawn, which I ſuppoſe to be the intent of the war, and, in all human probability, will be ſpeedily accompliſhed.

I WAS one of a Board of Select Committee, who, in the month of September, 1760, determined on the treaty with Coſſim Allee Cawn, which ſoon after brought him to the Nizamut. Altho' our reſolutions were unanimous, ſome members, who were at that time not in Bengal, raiſed afterwards abundance of objections, were not ſparing of reproaches againſt the members who were preſent, and ſome even declared, they thought the ſaid treaty not binding upon them. A ſtrong oppoſition was formed hereupon, and every opportunity has ſince been taken, of aggravating diſputes with the Nabob; by which means, jealouſies and ſuſpicions have been nouriſhed, until they are grown into the ſtate, in which we now ſee them.

THUS experienced, it is not ſurprizing, that I ſhould be unwilling to give my vote for any particular perſon, to ſucceed Coſſim Allee Cawn, or to enter into a diſcuſſion of the Company's right to nominate to ſuch ſucceſſion, upon which ſome doubts may ariſe; for altho' they may contract with the neareſt heir, to ſupport his pretenſions, which was the nature of our engagement with Coſſim Allee Cawn, it does not follow, that they have a right to proceed to a new appointment, in caſe there be no heir of the ſame family. But as it is my deſign, that my government ſhall expire as ſoon as Coſſim Allee is depoſed, and the tranquility of the country reſtored, it is more for our Honorable Maſters benefit, and the welfare of the province, that all queſtions relative to the ſucceſſion, be decided by thoſe who will remain here to ſupport the perſon, in whoſe favor they may turn.

WHATEVER may be the reſolutions of the Board, I ſhall do my utmoſt to promote their ſucceſsful execution, as long

as I remain in the chair; and the perſon who may be treated with, I think, ſhould engage to pay the Company ſuch a ſum, as may be ſtipulated for the expences of the war; as likewiſe ſuch further ſum, as ſhall be agreed upon for the indemnification of the loſſes, which the merchants, living under our protection, will unavoidably ſuffer in their concerns in the country."

AFTER theſe opinions had been read, and much debate paſſed on the ſubject at the Board, it was reſolved, that the members ſhould take time till the next meeting, to determine on a matter of ſuch importance.

ON the 23d, arrived the following letter from Meſſ. Amyatt and Hay to the Board. Dated June 14, 1763.

"IT appears to us from the Nabob's diſpoſition of his forces, both by his ſtrengthening the detachments towards Beerboom and Moorſhedabad, and his ordering to be aſſembled at Patna his troops from the Mey country, and other

places to the westward, and from what he has dropped in converſation, that he deſigns to attack, at the ſame time, both Burdwan, and our forces at Patna, in hopes of ſubduing them before they can be ſuccoured. He continues to treat us with the greateſt ſlight, and we almoſt daily meet with inſults from his people. We have thought it neceſſary to write you the above, and to forward you a duplicate of the cypher, the receipt of which you have not yet acknowledged, as we are doubtful what the event may be, on our delivering the Governor's letter to his Excellency to-morrow, eſpecially as we have received ſo little protection from him for our people, ſince we have been here; and he ſeems to have ſo high an opinion of his own force, which, we imagine, he is led to by the Armenian, who is his ſole miniſter, and we believe the only perſon that influences him to a rupture. The laſt time we were with the Nabob, he told us, that peace or war depended on the removing our troops from

from Patna, which, if we complied with, he would then talk on buſineſs.

OUR gentlemen were again ſtopped this morning at the ſame chokey, and carried priſoners to the Nabob through his army; the Nabob has been pleaſed to ſay, he has confined the people, and will give us ſatisfaction for this.

A Note in Cypher.

WE delivered the Governor's letter to the Nabob this morning; on receiving which, he immediately declared there was war; but told us, we might wait till we received the Governor's and Council's orders, and ſend him under our hands and ſeals the amount of them, when in caſe they did not order down our troops from Patna, he would ſend us paſſports to go to Calcutta; but that he would detain Mr. Hay for ſecurity that his aumils, and the people in our hands, be delivered up.

WE conclude, that the Nabob's view in this, is principally to ſecure the ſafety of Petrus; we therefore recommend the immediate ſecuring of that man, as Mr. Hay's

Hay's only ſecurity, who has agreed to remain with the Nabob."

THE precaution, which they recommended with reſpect to Coja Petrus, was accordingly obſerved; tho' I had ſufficient reaſon to believe their ſurmiſe groundleſs, ſince the Nabob's declared pretence for detaining Mr. Hay, was the moſt natural conſtruction that could be put upon that action; and had he ſtopped here, the ſtricteſt juſtice could hardly have condemned him for it, after the provocation which we had given, and the example which we had afforded him; but I ſhall forbear any further reflections for the preſent on this ſubject, and haſten to the concluſion.

THE next letter brought a ſhort glimpſe of hope, and made me imagine, that the Nabob, having tried the effects of a long oppoſition, and dreading the conſequences of a war, was now reſolved to conſent to peace upon any conditions. This letter was as follows.

Copy

Copy of a Letter from Meſſ. Amyatt *and* Hay *to the Board. Dated* June 19, 1763.

"THIS evening, Rajah Nobit Roy has been with us to inform us, that his Excellency conſents to releaſe the boats of arms immediately, and will treat without perſiſting in his preliminary demand of removing the troops from Patna; and we have accordingly agreed to wait upon him to-morrow."

THE flattering proſpect which this letter had opened, vaniſhed almoſt in the inſtant of its firſt exiſtence, and was ſucceeded by flying reports of troubles already commenced at Patna, which, tho' impoſſible to be traced to any credible authority, and told with improbable and contradictory circumſtances, yet left no doubt, that ſome extraordinary and calamitous event had given riſe to them. What added to the credit of theſe rumours was, that we had not heard from Patna for ſome days. And on the 30th of the month we were informed, by a letter from the gentlemen at Coſſimbuzar,

zar, that our dauks had been made prisoners by the fougedar of Rajemahl, and the letters seized, by which our communication with Patna and Mongheer was stopped.

In the mean time, I received two letters, in a very different style, from the Nabob, one on the 26th, and the other on the 29th of June. I shall enter both, and leave it to the reader to make the obvious comments on the pacific disposition, which the Nabob plainly shewed to the last, till driven to the necessity of standing on his defence, by the actual hostilities begun by our factory at Patna.

Copy of a Letter from the Nabob *to the Governor. Dated* June 19, 1763.

I HAVE received your kind letter with pleasure; you write, that you have read the list of demands, presented by Mr. Amyatt, with my answer to each article; that it is surprising that not one of them have been consented to, and that I repeatedly write for the removal of the troops from Patna; and that you and

Mr.

Mr. Amyatt never wrote to me that arms were not diſpatched to that place, but that the forces which are already there want muſkets. That I had ſtopped ſix boats loaded with muſkets, and taken from the Company's gomaſtah at Bahar 2000 maunds of ſalt-petre. That 4 or 500 muſkets, or 2000 maunds of ſalt-petre, were no great matter to either of us; but by ſuch unprofitable actions, I rendered entirely uſeleſs and ineffectual, all your endeavors and ſtudy to preſerve peace and union between us. That from all theſe circumſtances you ſuppoſed, that I was reſolved upon a rupture; if ſo, that I ſhould write it plainly. That I might be aſſured, that unleſs I releaſed the boats and arms, there would be an end to all our friendſhip and peace, and to all concerns between us. Sir, in my reply to each article of the demands, what have I anſwered contrary to the treaty, or not conformable to juſtice, or what buſineſs of yours have I put a ſtop to? Write me any inſtance that I may know it. From the profeſ-

sions of you, gentlemen, and my own confidence in you, I assured myself, that the troops at Patna were for my service, and for that reason I sent for them. I now understand, that they are kept at Patna for the defence, and the business of the factory, and for my grievance and detriment. Had I known as much before, I should not have sent for them; nor had I any other reason for desiring their removal from Patna, but that Mr. Ellis is my professed enemy; and for these two years has created disturbances, leaving unattempted no means to ruin my affairs. For this reason, if you think it proper to keep up forces at Patna, and that the boats of arms should be released, it is fit that you should appoint Mr. Amyatt, or Mr. M'Guire, or Mr. Hastings, whichsoever of these gentlemen you approve of, to the chiefship of Patna, and remove Mr. Ellis from that place. By this means, good order will be introduced into both our affairs; but if you, gentlemen, are resolved at all events upon a rupture, write me so plainly.

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WHOEVER

WHOEVER wrote you, gentlemen, that I had ſeized your ſalt-petre, wrote an abſolute falſhood, and with a wicked deſign. It is true, that 4 or 500 muſkets, are no great matter to you; nevertheleſs, they would be of uſe to me, in the appearance which they would have with the zemindars, and the common people of this country. If you will oblige me, by granting this ſlight favor, I may at length reap this benefit (be it great or ſmall) in three years, from the influence of the Company, and the kindneſs of you, gentlemen. The amount of their price I will pay; if you will not give them, you are maſters of your own goods. You ought to conſider well, from what quarter war and diſcord ſhew themſelves. For inſtance, the Engliſh Council has ſent ſtrict orders to all the gomaſtahs of their factories, that upon any fault being committed, by any of the officers of the ſircar, they ſhall, without acquainting me, or my naibs, or aumils, chaſtize him, and carry him away a priſoner. And tho' I had diſmiſſed Mahomed Alies

from

from my ſervice, and ſent for him, when he had waited a few days to prepare his accounts, and was upon the point of ſetting out for this place, your people ſeized and carried him to Calcutta; and beſides this, they have impriſoned ſeveral others of the officers of the ſircar.

IT is needleſs to write, what diſgrace they have thrown upon my affairs. Had I refuſed to puniſh them upon conviction of their faults, yet, in that caſe, it would not have been juſt to quarrel with my officers. Whatever claims or ſeizures, or war, or force were to be made, ought to have fallen upon me. After ſo opprobrious an act, ſo oppoſite to the rules of friendſhip, what room was there left for mutual confidence? To your demand that I ſhould write plainly, whether my deſigns are for war? I declare to you plainly, that I upon no account do deſire a war with you, gentlemen; nor do I interrupt either the Company's trade, or your foreign commerce. But you, gentlemen, ſetting on foot once or twice every year a new treaty, enter into negotiations,

gotiations, and inſiſt on an anſwer to your own liking; by this you leave me without remedy. Whatever is to be done, delay not. If I have done any thing contrary to the old treaty, acquaint me with it. You have taken Burdwan, and the other countries, for defraying the expences of the Engliſh army; and in the old treaty you have written, that your army ſhall attend me; and now, when I deſire you to remove your forces from Patna, and ſuffer them to attend me, you make excuſes and denials. This is foreign from juſtice. With reſpect to Mr. Ellis, how ſhall I ſpeak, or how ſhall I write what quarrels he has made with my people from the beginning, and how he has injured my affairs? Now, he is every day making preparations againſt *Meer Mahomed Mehdee Cawn, and making a ſhew of his forces before him, and is ready to attack him. In this caſe, I and my people are without remedy. It is a duty on every man to defend his own honor.

* Naib of Patna.

P. S. SIR, concerning what you have wrote of Meer Mahomed Jaffer Cawn's monthly allowance, you know, that at this time, I have not an aumil in any place, and that the revenues of the circar are at a ſtand. As ſoon as the aumils are gone into their ſtations, I will without fail diſcharge it."

Copy of a Letter from the Nabob *to the Governor. Dated* June 22, 1763.

"I HAVE already acquainted you fully and repeatedly with the affairs of this place, and you will have underſtood the whole. At this time, upon the receipt of your letter, in which you inſiſt on the releaſe of the boats laden with muſkets, I have complied with your deſire, and releaſed the boats with the muſkets. But Meſſ. Amyatt and Hay have given me this plain anſwer, they have received an order of the Council, which is, that the troops at Patna ſhall never be removed, as you will obſerve by the letter written to me by thoſe gentlemen, of which I ſend you a copy.

As to the particulars of Mr. Ellis, what ſhall I write? Daily he is ſeeking occaſion to quarrel with Meer Mahomed Mehdee Cawn Behader; and now, by what I can learn, that gentleman is bent upon the deſign of aſſaulting the fort of Patna. To this purpoſe, I have juſt received an arzee from Meer Mahomed Mehdee Cawn Behader, with a paper of news of that quarter. I opened them in the preſence of Meſſ. Amyatt and Hay; a copy of each I ſend you incloſed in this letter for your peruſal; and from them you will have a clear view of all particulars; and in the ſame manner, the Engliſh ſeepoys are committing all manner of violence and hoſtilities in the perganah of Bahrbund. A letter upon this ſubject, which I received from Mahſing, the aumil of that quarter, I have ſhewn to the ſaid gentlemen, and now ſend a copy of it likewiſe to you, for your information.

By your friendſhip and kindneſs my affairs have been brought to this paſs. The meaneſt perſon that exiſts, could never have ſubmitted to uſe ſo great a for-

bearance; and that I have forborn ſo long, was owing to this only, that your reputation might not ſuffer with your maſters. I now leave you to your own concerns. Since Mr. Ellis has proceeded to ſuch lengths, as to prepare ladders and platforms, in order to take the fort of Patna; now you may take whatever meaſures you think beſt for the intereſts of the Company, and your own. I repeatedly wrote to you to releaſe me from this buſineſs, and appoint another, but you did not even reply to me on this ſubject. Since the chiefs of the factories are ſtretching out their hands againſt my honor and reputation, I and my people are in every reſpect without remedy, nor is it in my power to uſe any longer forbearance.

P. S. SIR, ſince the receipt of the former arzee from Meer Mahomed Mehdee Cawn Behader, another arzee, with a paper of news, is arrived; the ſubſtance of it is, that the Engliſh are throwing down the houſes at Baukipore,

and

and expelling the tenants, in order to make entrenchments.

WHEN the zemindar of that place went to Mr. Carſtairs *, to repreſent this affair to him, that gentleman paid no regard to him.

I SEND you a copy of the arzee, and the paper of news."

Copy of a Letter from Meer Mahomed Mehdee Cawn Behader *to the* Nabob.

"I HAVE continually repreſented to your Excellency, that the chief of the factory at Patna is bent upon a rupture; and your Excellency, in anſwer to my arzees, continually informs me, that a peace will ſhortly be concluded, and the Engliſh troops withdrawn from Patna. I have ſent repeated repreſentations of the ſtate of this place; and that that gentleman was reſolved upon a rupture, inſomuch, that he has even made platforms and ladders for ſcaling the walls of the fort. One day, he made them ready for this deſign, and was near the

* Commanding officer of the detachment.

walls, when a ſtorm of wind and rain came on, and cauſed him to defer it. This is our ſtate; but your Excellency neither ſends us any reinforcements, nor gives me any orders to fight; what then am I to do, ſitting inactive? Since the ſeepoys of Bengal have gained an ill name, for their treachery to former Nazims, it is not in my power to bring myſelf to ſo much forbearance and want of ſpirit. If that chief is determined on a quarrel, I will put up with no more inſults, but will fight with him.

P. S. On the 5th of the moon, the hircarras of the ſircar delivered me a paper of news, which I ſend, for your Excellency's information, incloſed.

Copy of the Paper of News.

I have repeatedly informed your Excellency of the diſturbances committed by Mr. Ellis. This is the preſent ſtate; the diſturbances created by the ſaid gentleman daily increaſe; his ſeepoys come cloſe to the fort, and give ill-language to the people of the fort; and ſay to them, "what do you do ſitting in the fort?

"Why

"Why do you not come out into the "plain, that we may cut your heads off?" In this manner they uſe inſulting expreſſions; and that gentleman has alſo made platforms, and high ladders for ſcaling the walls. One day, with this deſign, he approached the fort, when a ſtorm of wind and rain came on, and cauſed him to defer it. I daily write to you what paſſes, but your Excellency takes no meaſures for redreſſing theſe diſorders; and Meer Mahomed Mehdee Cawn Behader will not fight without your orders.

Second Paper of News.

To the weſt of Moorlidur's garden dwelt many tenants. Mr. M'Leod * turned them out, pulled their houſes down, and threw them upon the intrenchments, where builders are at work. The zemindar of the place, taking the tenants with him, carried them before captain Carſtairs, and complained; but receiving no anſwer, was forced to return with the tenants to his own houſe."

* One of the officers of the detachment.

Copy of a Letter from Mahſing, *Aumil of* Bahrbund, *to the* Nabob.

"I HAVE before repreſented the particulars of the aſſault made by Dearam, the Engliſh gomaſtah, with a body of 500 ſeepoys, &c. at the laſt pahr of the night, on the cutcherree of the perganah of Bahrbund. At this time about 700 Europeans and ſeepoys are arrived at Cheelmarree in the ſaid perganah, have plundered the merchants and tenants, and making their way to the cutcherree, early in the morning they attacked my peſhkar, in Ranned Gunge, they killed and wounded about 15 of my peons, &c. and committed great ravages. Though they are now returned to Dacca, yet they will not deſiſt from their hoſtile intentions. Theſe diſturbances, repeatedly cauſed by the Engliſh, have entirely ruined the perganah. The tenants are fled, the revenues are entirely at a ſtand, and the lands are waſte; added to theſe damages, the tuncaw of the Rangamettee fougedar has ſuffered; and your Excellency can well judge in what manner

the

the balances are to be recovered, and the new collections made, amidſt theſe diſorders. As the paſt diſturbances have made it neceſſary to entertain a few horſe and foot, for the protection of my honor, and I have been obliged to borrow money to pay them two months pay, I requeſt, that a perwannah may be granted me for a tuncaw."

THE advices tranſmitted to the Nabob, by his officer at Patna, of Mr. Ellis's intention to attack the city, agreeing with the general report which had prevailed for ſome days, it was no longer doubted that hoſtilities had begun at that place; and therefore, on the 2d of July, orders were given for the army to march from Gherettee. Some days before, a letter was diſpatched to meet Mr. Amyatt, directing him to leave his eſcort at Coſſimbuzar, which would ſufficiently ſecure that factory till the army reached it.

IT is argued by many, that the army ſhould have marched ſooner; but if it be conſidered, that the march of the

army

army would have been regarded by the Nabob, and all the country, as a certain declaration of war, it would have been improper, while we had any hopes from the negotiation; and after that hope was nearly loſt, it would have been imprudent to move the army, until our deputies had received their diſmiſſion, leaſt it ſhould put them in danger of being detained with their eſcort. All the neceſſary preparations were made to inſure, as far as the nature of war will admit, the ſucceſs of our arms in caſe of a rupture; and if the Patna detachment had not been loſt by their own diſorderly behavior, the troubles would ſcarce have ſpread into Bengal.

On the 4th arrived the following note in cypher from Mr. Amyatt, directed to Mr. Ellis, but brought by miſtake to Calcutta, inſtead of another of the ſame tenor, addreſſed to the Board.

"We are made priſoners, as far as "ſeizing our boats, and ſurrounding of "us can make us. The boats of arms

"were

"were ſtopped a few miles from hence*.

"Mongheer June, 21, 1763."

THE hircarra that brought the note reported, that being ſtopped and detained

* This was the laſt of Mr. Amyatt's letters from Mongheer, that reached us before the war was declared; but major Adams finding ſome of his papers at Moorſhedabad, ſent me a copy from his letter-book of a letter of the 22d of June. This giving ſome further account of the footing on which he parted with the Nabob, I have thought proper to inſert it.

Copy of a Letter from Mr. Amyatt *to Mr.* Ellis, *dated* Mongheer, *the* 22*d of* June, *extracted from his Letter-Book, where is a Memorandum, that he wrote a Letter of the ſame Tenor to Mr.* Vanſittart.

SIR,

From the Nabob's actions, two nights ago, we were effectually made priſoners, farrounded by a body of horſe all night, and our boats ſeized. That day in the morning we deſired Nobit Roy to tell the Nabob, as we were ordered to return, we could not, nor would not ſtay, therefore deſired perwannahs and duftucks for our free paſſage; and if he did not give them, we would go without. In the evening Nobit Roy informed us, the boats with arms ſhould be releaſed; upon which we aſſured him, we would not think of going, but with the

detained a little on this ſide of Monghier, by the Nabob's chokeys, he learned, that Mr. Amyatt was gone to Patna, and that our forces had attacked and taken the city.

THOUGH we could not depend upon this news, yet there was great reaſon to think it true; and from this moment I was to enter on a new part. Hitherto I had regarded the Nabob as the injured party; and his conduct from his acceſſion to the ſubahſhip, to the opening of our

the Nabob's conſent. Notwithſtanding this, he, that night, took the above precautions to ſtop us, not truſting our words. To-day all our boats were given us back again, and the Nabob has promiſed to diſmiſs us the day after to-morrow; for we declared to him, we could not think of treating with him as affairs are now ſituated, we priſoners, and he ſending reinforcements to Patna, nor could we anſwer for the conſequence, when all this intelligence reached you and the gentlemen in Calcutta. The boats with the arms are cleared from the chokey at Surygarrah, and gone on, but there are many more chokeys for them to paſs I believe. Thus matters ſtand at preſent, which I think neceſſary to inform you of. The Nabob has given us aſſurances of our perſons and honor being ſafe, as far as words will allow.

I am, &c.

our laſt diſputes, and even to the preſent period as irreproachable, excepting a very few inſtances eaſily to be accounted for, by the diſtreſs and deſpair to which he was driven. I conſidered myſelf as the inſtrument of his advancement, and that he placed his entire dependence on me, to ſupport him in it, whilſt he obſerved the conditions of the treaty; and as more eſpecially concerned to preſerve the ſecurity of the Company's intereſts, and the tranquility of the country, upon the eſtabliſhment which I had ſo principal a ſhare in forming, and which the Court of Directors had approved, and ordered me to ſupport. Therefore, in all our diſputes, I had placed myſelf between the Nabob, and the rage of his opponents, till the flame grew too violent to be extinguiſhed, and threatened our own poſſeſſions. But juſtice muſt now give place to neceſſity, and I muſt take the part which my ſtation required, in repelling the evils to which the Company and the nation were expoſed.

THESE motives had induced me to form

form the reſolution which I had before publicly declared, in a minute already noticed of the 20th of June, to remain in the chair, and aſſiſt in all the operations of the war, until it ſhould be brought to a final iſſue, leaving it to the other members of the Council to form a new plan of government, in which I was determined to have no concern. This reſolution I now repeated to the Board in the following minute, believing, from the hircarra's report, that Mr. Amyatt, who was the next in ſucceſſion to the chair, was now at Patna.

Copy of the Governor's Minute in Conſultation of the 4th of July, 1763.

"I THINK it certain from the ſtoppage of our letters, the intelligence of the hircarra and other reports, that hoſtilities have begun at Patna, and that the breach with the Nabob is irreparable. The army under the command of major Adams ſhould therefore march on towards Mongheer, with all expedition, to ſecure the Company's poſſeſſions, and

bring

bring the war to a ſpeedy iſſue; altho I am quite of opinion, as I always have been, that it would be begun, continued and ended, by our forces at Patna. For the reſt, as it is my reſolution for the reaſons mentioned, in my minute of the 20th of June, to quit the government as ſoon as the war is ſo far determined, as that the Company's ſettlements and poſſeſſions run no riſk, and which I doubt not will be the caſe before the month of September. I ſhall be glad that Mr. Amyatt, who we have reaſon to hope is ſafe at Patna, was directed to return to Calcutta, by that time to receive from me the charge of the government, with the papers and inſtructions thereunto belonging."

"I

THE minutes entered in conſultation of the 20th of June, regarding the plan for ſettling the government, in caſe of the removal of Coſſim Allee Cawn from the ſubahſhip, were now read again at the Board, in order to come to ſome concluſion upon the point; and the opinions of ma-

jor

jor Carnac and Mr. Batſon, which had not been taken with the reſt, were now delivered in, in the following terms.

Major Carnac's Opinion.

THO' major Carnac entirely diſapproved of the revolution in favor of Coſſim Allee Cawn, and did not deem the authority, by which it was effected, as ſufficient, from a conviction, if the whole Council had been conſulted, the majority would have been againſt it; yet, from the moment we had the advice of our Employers having acquieſced therein, it became our common duty to ſupport to the utmoſt the new Nazim, ſo long as our rights and privileges were not infringed by him; and the major can ſafely aver, no perſon at the Board is more truly concerned than himſelf, at the meaſures we are under the neceſſity of taking.

THE Nabob Coſſim Allee Cawn has for ſome time paſt ſhewn ſuch an indiſpoſition towards us, as would render it the height of folly to place any confidence in him; and however inclined the Board

Board have ſhewn themſelves (by their long forbearance, and ſending deputies) to the eſtabliſhment of a mutual friendſhip, he has by his late acts abſolutely put it out of our power, conſiſtently with honor, to come to an accommodation with him. We ſhall therefore be juſtified to the Company and the world, in exerting our endeavors for the reſtoration of Meer Jaffier, an atonement which major Carnac looks upon as due to him, for the injuſtice he thinks was done him in depoſing him; and he is of opinion, he ſhould be proclaimed at Calcutta, and taken up with major Adams to Moorſhedabad, and there placed upon the muſnud. That a manifeſto ſhould be publiſhed, ſetting forth the reaſons for the change of government; and there is no doubt, but as Meer Jaffier, from the conſideration in which he has for many years been held, muſt have a number of friends; ſeveral of the moſt conſiderable perſons in the country will flock to his ſtandard. Major Carnac begs leave to ſubmit to the Board the terms, which, in his opinion,

ſhould be made the ground-work of a treaty, to be concluded between us and Meer Jaffier.

THE confirmation of the ceſſion of the three provinces of Burdwan, Midnapoor and Chittagong, with this alteration, that they be now made over to us in property, inſtead of their revenues only being aſſigned to us, as is the caſe at preſent.

AN univerſal freedom of trade to be allowed us, and the other privileges which the deputies were commiſſioned to demand of Coſſim Allee Cawn. The defraying the expences of the war, and a full indemnification to be made to the private ſufferers, as well as to the public, for all loſſes ſuſtained. To enable Meer Jaffier to do ſo immediately, the treaſure of Coſſim Allee Cawn, if laid hold of, to be put into his hands; but in caſe of failure herein, the revenues of the Nudeea province to be mortgaged to us, till every body is reimburſed. The farm of the Poorneea ſalt-petre to be given to the Company.

THE evil conſequence of ſuffering an overgrowth of power in a Nabob, being but too apparent, he ſhould in future be limited in the number of his forces, ſo as to be obliged to have his main dependence upon thoſe of the Engliſh; the principal of our troops ſhould therefore be ſtationed at Burrumpoor, where there is a piece of ground already marked out and given to us; proper cantonments may be erected, and whenever he has occaſion for their ſervices, they may be ready. This diſpoſition will preſerve our military, it being a very healthy ſpot; whereas they have fatally experienced (the two laſt ſeaſons particularly) the unhealthineſs of Calcutta.

Mr. Batſon's *Opinion.*

THE Nabob Coſſim Allee Cawn has plainly manifeſted by his general conduct, ſince he has been raiſed to the ſubahdarree, and more particularly by the ſeveral acts of hoſtility, to which he has lately proceeded, that he has the moſt inveterate enmity againſt us; and that his deſign is to extirpate us entirely out of

his country, if ever it ſhould be in his power. The delays already procured by the gentlemen, who have ſo ſtrenuouſly ſupported his cauſe, have ſubjected our affairs to great dangers and inconveniencies, and brought on us ſome diſgraces. I am of opinion, therefore, that to keep terms with Meer Coſſim any longer, or attempt any accommodation with him, is highly detrimental to the intereſts of our Company and nation; and I propoſe, that we reinſtate the old Nabob in his government, of which he has been unjuſtly deprived; hereby I think we ſhall attain the deſirable end, of eſtabliſhing the Company's affairs on a ſolid foundation, and clear ourſelves of the imputation of a breach of faith, which, tho' really due to a faction amongſt us, has thro' this been caſt on the nation in general."

THE majority of opinions agreeing in the appointment of another perſon to the ſubahſhip, this point came the next under conſideration, and the choice of the

the Board fell of courſe upon Jaffier Allee Cawn; Mr. Haſtings and myſelf remaining neuter upon the occaſion; and it was accordingly reſolved, that he ſhould be reſtored to the Nizamut. The next day we received two letters from Mr. Amyatt, the firſt dated from Seepgunge, the 25th of June, adviſing us, "that from all the Nabob's actions, he "and Mr. Hay both judged, that he "intended war, and that he would attack our troops at Patna. That four "days before, an Armenian commander, "with a ſtrong reinforcement of horſe, "foot and cannon, went to Patna; and "that the Armenians ſolely managed "him, and urged the diſputes." The laſt dated from Sootee, the 30th of June, adviſing us, that the Nabob had given him a paſſport, and ſent a man with him, to conduct him and his party ſafe to Calcutta. We were accordingly in expectation of ſeeing him, when we received a letter from the factory at Coſſimbuzar, informing us, that as he was paſſing the city of Moorſhedabad, he was attacked

by the Nabob's forces. Mr. Amyatt himſelf, and ſome other gentlemen, killed, and the reſt made priſoners.—

SECTION XIII.

The new Treaty with Meer Jaffier, War with Meer Coſſim, and the Maſſacre at Patna.

The Proclamation of Meer Jaffier, *and Declaration of War.*——Meer Coſſim's *Letter, confirming the Report of our Defeat at* Patna.——Coſſimbuzar *Factory ſurrounded.*—— *Minutes in Council of Mr.* Vanſittart, *and Mr.* Haſtings, *containing their Reaſons for ſigning the Acts in favor of* Meer Jaffier.——*Propoſed Articles of Agreement with* Meer Jaffier. *A Deputation of the Board ſent to him with the Articles.*——*Minutes in Council of Mr.* Vanſittart *and Mr.* Haſtings, *upon the Subject of the propoſed Articles.*——*Preliminary Demands delivered by* Meer Jaffier *to the Deputies.—Debates and Reſolutions thereupon.—Remarks on*

this

this Subject.—Meer Jaffier's *Objections to the Articles.*—*The Objections admitted.*—*Treaty with* Meer Jaffier.—*Further Demands of* Meer Jaffier—*Agreed to.*—*Letter from* Meer Coſſim *to Major* Adams, *threatening to cut off the Priſoners in his Hands.*—*Mr.* Vanſittart's *Letter to* Meer Coſſim *on that Subject.*—*Major* Adams's *Anſwer to* Meer Coſſim.—*The Maſſacre perpetrated.*—*Letter from Mr.* Fullerton *to the Board, giving an Account of this Cataſtrophe, and of his Eſcape.*

THIS unexpected attack, which we judged for certain to be a conſequence of hoſtilities, begun at Patna, being the next day confirmed by ſome of the gentlemen's ſervants, and one or two ſoldiers of the party, who had eſcaped the fate of the reſt, determined the Board, immediately to declare war againſt Coſſim Allee Cawn; and the Nabob Jaffier Allee Cawn having conſented to take upon him the government, the following declaration of war againſt Coſ-

ſim Allee Cawn, and of the reſtoration of Jaffier Allee Cawn, was drawn up, ſigned by the members of the Council, and publicly read thro' the town, copies thereof being diſperſed amongſt the zemindars, and other principal people of the country.

Copy of the Proclamation of the Nabob Meer Jaffier.

"THE Nabob Meer Mahomed Coſſim Allee Cawn, having entered upon, and committed acts of open hoſtility againſt the Engliſh nation, and the intereſt of the Engliſh united Eaſt India Company; we, on their behalf, are reduced to the neceſſity of declaring war againſt him; and having come to a reſolution of placing the Nabob Meer Mahomed Jaffier Cawn Behader again in the government; we now proclaim and acknowledge him as Subahdar of the provinces of Bengal, Bahar and Oriſſa: and further, as the ſaid Coſſim Allee Cawn, has likewiſe exerciſed acts of violence and oppreſſions over many of the principal

principal merchants and inhabitants of the country to their entire ruin, we do hereby require all manner of perſons under our juriſdiction, and alſo invite all other officers and inhabitants of the country, to repair to the ſtandard of Meer Mahomed Jaffier Cawn Behader, to aſſiſt him in defeating the deſigns of the ſaid Coſſim Allee Cawn, and finally eſtabliſhing himſelf in the ſubahdarree.

GIVEN in Council at Fort William, the 7th day of July 1763, under our hands, and the ſeal of the ſaid United Eaſt India Company."

WHILST the Board were ſitting, the following letter arrived from Meer Coſſim, and confirmed what we had for ſome days apprehended, the news of the defeat of our detachment at Patna. The particulars of this diſaſter, with the other operations of the war, are ſufficiently known; let it here ſuffice to obſerve, that the city was ſurprized and taken without reſiſtance, by our troops, in the night of the 24th of June; and by their diſorderly

orderly behavior afterwards, whilſt they were diſperſed, and intent only on plunder, was retaken by a handful of the Nabob's people, the next day at noon; after which loſs, the gentlemen of the factory, with the ſcattered remains of the army, retired a-croſs the river, and were there all deſtroyed or taken priſoners.

Copy of a Letter from the Nabob Coſſim Allee Cawn *to the Governor. Dated* June 28, 1763.

'IN my heart I believed Mr. Ellis to be my inveterate enemy, but from his actions, I now find he was inwardly my friend, as appears by this ſtep, which he has added to the others. Like a night robber he aſſaulted the Kolla of Patna: robbed and plundered the bazar, and all the merchants and inhabitants of the city, ravaging and ſlaying from the morning, to the third pahr (afternoon.) When I requeſted of you 2 or 300 muſkets laden in boats, you would not conſent to it. This unhappy man, in conſequence of his inward friendſhip, favored

vored me in this fray and ſlaughter, with all the muſkets and cannon of his army, and is himſelf relieved and eaſed from his burthen. Since it was never my deſire to injure the affairs of the Company, what ever loſs may have been occaſioned by this unhappy man to myſelf, in this tumult, I paſs over: but you, gentlemen, muſt anſwer for any injury, which the Company's affairs have ſuffered; and ſince you have unjuſtly and cruelly ravaged the city, and deſtroyed the people, and plundered effects to the value of lacks of rupees; it becomes the juſtice of the Company to make reparation to the poor, as formerly was done for Calcutta. You, gentlemen, are wonderful friends; having made a treaty, to which you pledged the name of Jeſus Chriſt; you took from me a country, to pay the expences of your army, with the condition, that your troops ſhould always attend me, and promote my affairs. In effect, you keep up a force for my deſtruction; ſince, from their hand, ſuch events have proceeded, I am entirely of

opinion,

opinion, that the Company ſhould favor me in cauſing to be delivered to me the rents for three years of my country. Beſides this, for the violences and oppreſſions exerciſed by the Engliſh gomaſtahs for ſeveral years paſts, in the territories of the Nizamut, and the large ſums extorted, and the loſſes occaſioned by them, it is proper and juſt that the Company make reſtitution at this time. This is all the trouble you need take; in the ſame manner as you took Burdwan and the other lands, you muſt favor me in reſigning them."

THIS was followed by a note from the gentlemen at Coſſimbuzar, dated the night of the 4th of July, informing us, that the factory was ſurrounded by a numerous force, and that they expected an attack the next morning.

THE Nabob's letter putting it out of all doubt, that our troops at Patna, which conſiſted of a great part of our force, were entirely defeated, and the war becoming thereby more ſerious than had

been

been expected; that no appearance of diſunion amongſt ourſelves might hurt the public ſervice, I now reſolved to ſet my name to the declaration of war, and the treaty with Meer Jaffier, in which I had before declared my intention to have no ſhare. This I accordingly did, having firſt explained the motives for this change in my conduct, in the following minute, delivered in the conſultation of the 8th of July.

The Preſident's *Minute.*

"THE Preſident (ſenſible that it will be more for the public ſervice, we ſhould appear unanimous in every meaſure now entered upon, for proſecuting the war againſt Coſſim Allee Cawn with the utmoſt vigor, and ſupporting the alliance with Jaffier Allee Cawn, to re-eſtabliſh him in the government; and particularly, that it will be a ſatisfaction to the Nabob Jaffier Allee Cawn) conſents to ſign the proclamation, and all other public deeds, which ſhall be made in conſequence; now recording once for all, that he does not mean hereby to preju-

dice

dict his former declarations and opinions, entered on the conſultations."

IN the ſame ſentiments I was joined by Mr. Haſtings (the only member who had oppoſed the claims of the reſt of the Board upon the Nabob, and the proceedings which brought on the war) in the following minute.

Mr. Haſtings's Minute.

"IT is long ſince I forboded that our diſputes with the Nabob would terminate in an open rupture; but as from the ill opinion which I had of his ſtrength, I expected that our contention with him would be of a very ſhort duration, nor otherwiſe affect the intereſts of the Company, than in the future ill conſequences of a broken and diſordered ſtate; and as I had not the ſame tie upon me with the Preſident, in reſpect to any military charge, it was my reſolution, as ſoon as a war ſhould be declared, to reſign the Company's ſervice; being unwilling, on the one hand, to join in giving authority to paſt meaſures, of which I diſapproved;

and

and to a new eſtabliſhment, which I judged detrimental to the honor and intereſts of the Company: and apprehenſive, on the other, that my continuance at the Board, might ſerve only to prejudice, rather than advance the good of the ſervice, in keeping alive, by my preſence, the diſputes which have ſo long diſturbed our Councils, and retarding the public buſineſs by continual diſſents and proteſts. But ſince our late melancholy advices, give us reaſon to apprehend a dangerous and troubleſome war, and from the unparalleled acts of barbarity and treachery, with which it has opened on the part of the Nabob, it becomes the duty of every Britiſh ſubject to unite in the ſupport of the common cauſe, it is my intention to join my endeavors for the good of the ſervice, not only as long as the war ſhall laſt, but as long as the troubles conſequent from it may endanger either the Company's affairs, or the ſafety of this colony. On the ſame principle, and to remove every appearance of diſunion amongſt ourſelves,

I will

I will freely ſet my hand to the declaration publiſhed by the Board, though I ſtill abide by the ſentiments which I have all along expreſſed, of the meaſures taken in the courſe of all our diſputes with the Nabob, hereby confirming all that I have declared in my former proteſts and minutes, which ſtand upon record in our conſultations."

I SHALL go back to relate the proceedings of the Board, in forming the new treaty of alliance with Jaffier Allee Cawn. A committee having been appointed to draw up the articles of this treaty, delivered in their propoſals, in the conſultation of the 6th of July, as follows.

Articles of the Treaty with Meer Jaffier Allee Cawn.

"FIRST, To confirm to the Company the ceſſion of the provinces of Burdwan, Midnapoor and Chittagong, made by Meer Coſſim, either by jagheerce, ſunnuds, or ſuch deeds as may ſecure the property

of

of them, in the ſtrongeſt manner, to the Company for ever.

SECONDLY, To ratify and confirm to the Engliſh, the privilege granted by their Firmaan, and ſeveral hufbulhookums, of carrying on their trade by means of their own duſtuck, free from all duties, taxes and impoſitions, in all parts of the country, excepting the article of ſalt, on which, according to a reſolution already taken, we agree to pay a duty of two and a half *per cent.* on the Rowana or Hoogly market price.

THIRDLY, That he do grant to the Company, the excluſive right of purchaſing the ſalt-petre of the province of Poorneea; that he do alſo grant to them, for the ſpace of five years, the ſole privilege of making chunam, in the province of Silhett; half whereof ſhall be delivered to the fougedar there, for the Nabob's uſe, at the rate which the prime coſt and charges may amount to.

FOURTHLY, That the troops of the Engliſh army ſhall always be ready to be employed in the ſervice of the Na-

bob, for the ſupport of his government, and the defence of his country; the Nabob on his part ſhall agree, that he will maintain in his pay, no greater number of troops than 6000 horſe, and 12000 effective foot, for the protection of his frontiers, and collection of his revenues.

FIFTHLY, That wherever he ſhall think proper to fix his court, he ſhall agree to a body of our forces being always cantoned near his perſon, for the ſecurity thereof, and protection of his government; and that a Company's ſervant ſhall reſide at his court, to tranſact any affairs between the Company and the government.

SIXTHLY, That the late perwannahs iſſued out by Coſſim Allee Cawn, granting to all merchants the exemption of all duties for the ſpace of two years, ſhall be reverſed and called in, as they are detrimental to the revenues of the government, and highly deſtructive of the immunities enjoyed by the Company from their Firmaun.

SEVENTHLY, That the Nabob ſhall engage

engage to cauſe the rupees coined in Calcutta, to paſs in every reſpect throughout his government, without any deduction, equally the ſame with the rupees ſtruck in his own mint.

EIGHTHLY, That he ſhall defray all the expences and loſs accruing to the Company from the war, and ſtoppage of their inveſtment, and reimburſe to all private perſons, the amount of the authenticated loſſes, which they may ſuſtain in their trade in the country.

NINTHLY, That for the former purpoſe, he ſhall give thirty lacks of rupees; for the latter, ten lacks of rupees.

TENTHLY, That the moſt authentic account of theſe loſſes ſhall be laid before a committee of the Board; and that all ſums of money, which may exceed the loſſes ſuſtained by the Company and private perſons, ſhall be faithfully reſtored to the Nabob.

ELEVENTHLY, That whatever treaſure or effects may be ſeized at Mongheer or elſewhere, belonging to Coſſim Allee Cawn, the Nabob ſhall be put in

poſſeſſion of, to enable him to make good the ſtipulations in the ninth article.

TWELFTHLY, That if we ſhould not be ſo fortunate as to ſeize Coſſim Allee Cawn's treaſure and effects, the Nabob ſhall aſſign over the revenues of certain lands for making good the ſums ſtipulated.

THIRTEENTHLY, That the treaty entered into between the Nabob and the Dutch, in the year 1760, to which we, by the deſire of both parties, ſigned as guarantees, ſhall, after his reſtoration to the government, be renewed; and with regard to the French, he ſhall engage, that when they come to re-eſtabliſh themſelves in Bengal, they ſhall not be permitted to build forts, or keep up any forces, or hold any territories whatever, excluſive of their trading factories."

I SHALL add what followed in the words of the conſultation.

"THE foregoing articles, the committee are of opinion, may be included in a public treaty to be ratified between us and the Nabob Meer Mahomed Jaffier Allee

Aſſee Cawn Behader, and would further recommend, that a method be ſettled with him for determining ſuch diſputes in trade, as may ariſe between the Engliſh agents and gomaſtahs, in the different parts of the country, and the officers of the government.

AGREED, that major Adams, major Carnac, and Meſſ. Batſon and Cartier, be appointed a deputation to wait on the Nabob Meer Jaffier, to acquaint him with our reſolution in his favor, and the ſubſtance of theſe articles, and report his anſwer to the Board; and if he ſhould accept of the government, on the terms therein contained, to recommend to him to uſe his intereſt in gaining over ſuch of the country people, as may be attached to his cauſe, and particularly to appoint proper officers for collecting the revenues of the provinces, which lie at hand for us to take immediate poſſeſſion of.

The Preſident's *Minute.*

THE Preſident on this occaſion minutes, that having already declared he ſhould not be a party to this or any other

treaty, which might be made with the country powers, he remained neuter to the queſtion, with reſpect to the propriety of the articles propoſed; yet, as his opinion has been aſked upon them, he declares, that he can ſee no objection to any of the articles, excepting the ſecond, which he has already given his opinion, extends the privileges of our private trade beyond the true intent and meaning of our Firmaun, beyond what is conſiſtent with the Engliſh reputation in the country, and with a good underſtanding with the Nabob; and this without any benefit to the Company. Further, that he does not at preſent recollect any thing to be added to the articles, which is material to the Company's ſervice.

MR. HASTINGS's opinion being likewiſe required on the articles, he delivered it in writing as follows.

Mr. Haſtings's Minute.

I DECLARE my diſſent from the treaty propoſed to Meer Jaffier, and think, that if his reſtoration to his juſt rights be the point aimed at in it, there is a mani-

manifeſt injuſtice and inconſiſtency, in exacting his compliance with new terms, not mentioned in the original agreement with him; notwithſtanding, as my opinion upon the ſeveral articles now before the Board is required, I ſhall freely give it, but as a neutral member only, for the good of the Company, whoſe intereſts may be eſſentially affected by them.

FIRST, I agree materially with the firſt article, but think, that the lands ſhould be fully made over to the Company by treaty, and not by jagheeree ſunnuds; the firſt conveying a certain property, and the latter leaving them ſtill dependent.

SECONDLY, I diſapprove of the ſecond article for the reaſons given by the Preſident.

THIRDLY, I think the monopoly of the Poornea ſalt-petre, an acquiſition very trifling for the Company, and likely to diſtreſs the Nabob greatly, by depriving him entirely of one of the principal neceſſaries of life.

FOURTHLY and FIFTHLY, To make the

Nabob an useful ally, and not a meer instrument in the hands of the Company, for the exercise of their own power, it is my opinion, that a larger body of horse might be maintained by him, than the number to which it is proposed to limit him, tho' that may serve when he is at peace, and in no apprehension from an enemy; but that the foot (an useless and expensive rabble) be entirely excluded from his army, and only a few kept up to be employed in the collection of his revenues, where only they can be of service.

For the real purposes of war, he can need no other infantry than ours; and his own army, consisting only of horse, and unincumbered by the disorderly crowd of Peons and Burgundasses, with their baggage and train following them, will be more under the command of their leader, and may act with greater advantage in conjunction with our forces.

SIXTHLY, Tho' I opposed the demand made on the present Nabob, to reverse the decree passed by him for a free trade,

as

as an encroachment on his rights, and a breach of our own treaty; yet, I think it may with propriety be made an article in the new treaty, tho' the strict execution of such an order, must of necessity be left to the Nabob's own pleasure.

SEVENTHLY, I judge the Nabob's order insufficient to enforce the currency of the Calcutta siccas; but it may with propriety be insisted on, as it may serve as a just pretence for regulating the coin of the country in general, when ever the Board may have leisure, in conjunction with the Nabob, to resume the subject; and upon this, my opinion in few words is, that the only effectual regulation to answer equally the purposes of commerce and the revenues, would be to strike off the batta entirely, on all rupees of the Bengal standard, and abolish the pernicious custom of lowering the value of rupees every year.

THE other articles appear to me very proper, nor do any other occur to me, that ought to be added to them.

THE

THE gentlemen now withdrawing from the Board to wait on the Nabob;

AGREED, that we adjourn till the evening."

"*At a Conſultation of the Evening of* July 6, 1763.

PRESENT

The Hon. Hen. Vanſittart, Eſq; Preſident.
Thomas Adams, Eſq;
John Carnac, Eſq;
William Billers, Eſq;
John Cartier, Eſq;
Warren Haſtings, Eſq;
Randolph Marriott, Eſq;
Hugh Watts, Eſq;

THE gentlemen, who waited as deputies on the Nabob, report to the Board, that they made known to him the reſolution of Council in his favor, and endeavored to give him a general knowledge of the articles which it is thought requiſite he ſhould agree to, as alſo of the other circumſtances which were recommended by the Board. To the whole, he in general terms replied, that he aſſented to reſume the government; but that before he would determine on particulars, or

enter

enter upon buſineſs, he deſired to have delivered to him a copy of the articles in the Perſian language, and that we would comply with the two following requeſts. Firſt, To ſecure the perſon of Coja Petrus, and have him taken up with the army, as he may be made the means of carrying on a correſpondence with his brother. Secondly, To permit him to take into his ſervice Nundcoomar, as his muttaſeddee, to aſſiſt him in commencing and carrying on the buſineſs.

IT being neceſſary therefore, that the Board ſhould determine immediately on theſe requeſts, for the benefit of forwarding the buſineſs with the Nabob, their opinions, with regard to Nundcoomar, were firſt collected as follows.

The Preſident's Opinion.

WITH reſpect to the appointment of Nundcoomar for the Nabob's muttaſeddee, the Preſident deſires his opinion may be minuted, that from the knowledge he has had of Nundcoomar ſince he came to Bengal, he thinks him a dangerous man, and not fit to be truſted; but that he does

does not think it is in his power to diſſent from the Nabob's taking whom he pleaſes, or indeed, that it is neceſſary, as he will * not be a party in the treaty.

Mr. Watts's *Opinion.*

MR. WATTS has no objections to the Nabob's appointing Nundcoomar to be his muttaſeddee.

Mr. Marriott's *Opinion.*

MR. MARRIOTT is of opinion with the Preſident, that Nundcoomar is not a man fit to be truſted, but that if the Nabob inſiſts upon it, he muſt be allowed to appoint him. That he looks upon Roydoolub, in many reſpects, as a more proper perſon, if thro' the perſuaſion of the gentlemen in the deputation, the Nabob could be prevailed upon to appoint him.

Mr. Haſtings's *Opinion.*

MR. HASTINGS is of the ſame opinion with the Preſident, in regard to Nund-

* It is to be obſerved, that this declaration was made the 6th of July—My reſolution to ſign the proceedings with Meer Jaffier, was not till the 8th, altho' in the courſe of this narrative, it is firſt mentioned, page 333.

Nundcoomar's character, but leaves it to the other gentlemen to take what meaſures they pleaſe, for the ſecurity of the future eſtabliſhment.

Mr. Cartier's *Opinion.*

MR. CARTIER is of Mr. Watt's opinion.

Mr. Billers's *Opinion.*

MR. BILLERS is of Mr. Marriott's opinion.

Major Carnac's *Opinion.*

MAJOR CARNAC is of opinion, that Roydoolub would be a more proper perſon, as having more influence in the country; and therefore thinks the gentlemen in the deputation ſhould mention him to the Nabob; but as he apprehends he (the Nabob) will ſtill inſiſt upon appointing Nundcoomar, that he cannot be refuſed him.

Major Adams's *Opinion.*

MAJOR ADAMS has no knowledge himſelf of the intrigues of Nundcoomar, but from his general character, given him by gentlemen who know him better, he thinks, if the Nabob would diſpenſe with

with him, it would be more proper; yet, if the neceſſity of the times may make his ſervices requiſite to the Nabob, and he inſiſts on appointing him, he thinks that we cannot refuſe.

Sum of the Opinions and Reſolutions in Conſequence.

IT being thus reſolved, that if the Nabob ſhould be ſtill deſirous of appointing Nundcoomar his muttaſeddee, it ſhall be admitted him.

AGREED, that Nundcoomar be in ſuch caſe releaſed from his confinement*.

NEXT, in reſpect to the Nabob's requeſt, regarding Petrus.

The Preſident's Opinion.

THE Preſident is of opinion it may be complied with, ſo far as to ſend him up with the army, but that he ſhould be under no reſtraint; becauſe he thinks the appearance of Petrus's being employed by us, would be a means of ſowing a jealouſy between the Nabob and Petrus's brother;

* He was in confinement, for having forwarded a correſpondence between the Shahzada and the Governor of Pondicherry during the French war.

brother; and, on the contrary, apprehends that confinement, or any other ſeverity exerciſed towards Petrus, from being reported to the Nabob with exaggerations, as is always the caſe, might be the cauſe of a worſe treatment to our gentlemen, who are in the Nabob's hands. He thinks further, that Petrus, before he goes, ſhould take the oath of allegiance to the King of Great Britain, and an oath of fidelity to the Company, in order to ſubject him more regularly to our laws, in caſe of his failing in his duty. That we ſhall have in our hands all the ſecurity, which it is in a man's power to give; namely, his wife and family, and houſes and effects, to a great amount; and if he ſhould reſolve to forfeit all theſe, and perjure himſelf, leaving the army, and going over to the Nabob, the Preſident laſtly thinks, that it is not in his power to do us any prejudice; and therefore that by this method of treating him good may come, but no harm.

MESSIEURS Watts, Marriott, Haſtings,

ings, Cartier and Billers, are of the ſame opinion.

Major Carnac's *Opinion.*

MAJOR CARNAC is very indifferent whether Petrus go with the army, or remain in Calcutta; but thinks in either caſe, as he is of ſo near a relation, as that of a brother to the perſon, who has the chief direction of the Nabob's affairs, and therefore juſtly to be ſuſpected of being a well-wiſher to him, his perſon ought to be ſecured, to prevent his giving any intelligence of our preparations; and, moreover, the major believes his detention may be a means of engaging Coja Gregory to uſe his influence with his maſter, for the preſervation of our gentlemen now in his power, for fear we ſhould retaliate upon his brother. He does not think any ſecurity can be given by Petrus, ſufficient to juſtify us in giving him his liberty. As to his family, tho' left with us, he is convinced we will not hurt them; and with regard to whatever effects he may have at Calcutta, the Nabob can more than compenſate him for the loſs of them. *Major*

Major Adams's *Opinion.*

MAJOR ADAMS thinks Petrus ſhould go with the army, but that he ſhould be put under proper reſtraint.

Reſolution of the Board.

IT is therefore reſolved, that Coja Petrus ſhall be ſent with the army, and that he ſhall be under no reſtraint; but that major Adams be directed to keep ſuch an eye over his actions, and make ſuch uſe of him, as he ſhall judge neceſſary for the good of the ſervice."

THE arguments produced in the courſe of this debate, will ſhew how far the public ſervice was concerned in Nundcoomar's advancement, and Petrus's diſgrace. To me the propoſal evidently appeared, as it probably will to the world, only as the firſt diſplay of the triumph of an unrelenting faction. I have already taken notice, in the courſe of this narrative, of the prejudices which were raiſed againſt Coja Petrus, and his brother Goorgheen Cawn, from the favors ſhewn by the Nabob to the latter,

who was in his ſervice, and derived from him to Coja Petrus.

MANY attempts had been made to render Petrus obnoxious to our government; and he had probably ſuffered the greateſt diſgraces, if not worſe conſequences, had I not protected him, knowing the aſperſions thrown upon him to be utterly groundleſs, and the paſſionate invectives againſt Armenian inſolence and authority, meer artifices to keep alive the flame of party. Tho' I was perſuaded, in my own mind, that it was the ſame ſpirit which dictated to the Nabob Meer Jaffier the propoſal, yet as it was urged with the pretence of promoting the public ſervice, I conſented to it, with the exception to his being kept a priſoner, and the majority of the members came into the ſame opinion.

As to Nundcoomar, he had hitherto made himſelf remarkable for nothing but a ſeditious and treacherous diſpoſition, which had led him to perpetrate the moſt atrocious acts againſt our government, having been detected and convicted

ted by the voice of the whole Board, in encouraging and aſſiſting our enemies in their deſigns againſt Bengal; taking the opportunity of the indulgence granted him, of living in Calcutta, under the Company's protection, to make himſelf the channel for carrying on a correſpondence between the Governor of Pondicherry, and the Shahzada then at war with us. During the ſubahſhip of Jaffier Allee Cawn, he had diſtinguiſhed himſelf by fomenting quarrels between him and the Preſidency. After the promotion of Coſſim Allee Cawn, he became as active, but with greater ſucceſs, in inventing plots, and raiſing jealouſies againſt him. This gave him an aſcendency over ſome of the members of the Board, and made him a party object; by which, and an unparallelled perſeverance, he was enabled to ſet the whole community in a flame. Such was the man whom the Nabob choſe for the adminiſtration of his affairs, and whoſe exaltation to this rank, he made a condition of his acceptance of the ſubahſhip.

THE articles of the treaty having been ſent to the Nabob, were returned with the following alterations, which were agreed to by the Board, for the reaſons annexed.

The Nabob's *Objections to the Articles.*

"IN article 2d, he objects to the words, "that the three provinces ſhall "be inveſted in the Company for ever," alledging, that in fact it is not material to the Company; as any future Nabob, who was inclined and able to diſpute the Company's poſſeſſions, might inſiſt it was a ceſſion which he had no right to make; and that the ſame might be objected to his prejudice by the King, if he comes to be eſtabliſhed at Delly; and therefore deſires the article may run as formerly, for defraying the expences of the Engliſh army.

IN article 4th, he deſires he may have half the produce of the Poorneea ſalt-petre, for the uſe of his own Sircar.

IN article 6th, he increaſes the number of his forces to 12,000 horſe, and 12,000 foot, on account of the addition of

of territory, by the reduction of Boudgepoor and Betteea countries; and adds, that in caſe of troubles, he may take more into his ſervice, with the conſent of the Governor and Council.

IN article 7th, he refuſes to ſtipulate, that a body of Engliſh troops ſhould always attend him, alledging, that it implied a ſuſpicion of his friendſhip, and good intentions towards us, would be extremely prejudicial to his, as well as our buſineſs; and therefore inſiſted, that it ſhould ſtand, that ſuch a number of troops as he, at any time ſhould deſire, ſhould be ſent to attend him."

THE ſame, with his reaſons aſſigned, were maturely conſidered and debated on.

Reſolution of the Board.

"THE Board are unanimouſly of opinion, that they ſhould be agreed to, becauſe they think the three firſt alterations which the Nabob has made, for the reaſons given, are very juſt; and that the other being an alteration which he poſitively refuſed to reverſe, it is thought better not to inſiſt upon it, for fear of giving him diſtruſt; eſpecially, as the

preſent ſituation of affairs (which renders the Nabob's preſence at the city, as ſoon as poſſible, abſolutely neceſſary) will not admit of time being waſted in diſcuſſing them further.

ON the 11th, the treaty was concluded, and interchanged with the Nabob Jaffier Allee Cawn, who, at the ſame time, preſented a paper of demands, to be engaged to on the part of the Company, and it was ſubſcribed to accordingly. The following are copies of both."

Articles of a Treaty and Agreement, concluded between the Governor and Council of Fort William, *on the Part of the* Engliſh Eaſt India Company; *and the* Nabob Shujaa-ool-moolk Hiſſam o Dowla Meer Mahomed Jaffier Cawn Behader Mohabut Jung.

On the Part of the Company.

"WE engage to reinſtate the Nabob Meer Mahomed Jaffier Cawn Behader, in the Subahdarree of the provinces of Bengal, Bahar and Oriſſa, by the depoſal of Meer Mahomed Coſſim

Cawn; and the effects, treaſure, jewels, &c. belonging to Meer Mahomed Coſſim Cawn, which ſhall fall into our hands, ſhall be delivered up to the Nabob afore-named.

On the Part of the Nabob.

FIRST, The treaty which I formerly concluded with the Company, upon my acceſſion to the Nizamut, engaging to regard the honor and reputation of the Company, their Governor and Council as my own, granting perwannahs for the currency of the Company's trade, the ſame treaty I now confirm and ratify.

SECONDLY, I do grant and confirm to the Company, for defraying the expences of their troops, the chucklas of Burdwan, Midnapoor and Chittagong, which were before ceded for the ſame purpoſe.

THIRDLY, I do ratify and confirm to the Engliſh, the privilege granted them by their firmaun, and ſeveral hufbul-hookums, of carrying on their trade by means of their own duſtucks, free from all duties, taxes and impoſitions, in all

parts of the country, excepting the article of ſalt, on which a duty of two and a half *per cent.* is to be levied on the Rowana or Hoogly market price.

FOURTHLY, I give to the Company half the ſalt-petre, which is produced in the country of Poorneea, which their gomaſtahs ſhall ſend to Calcutta; the other half ſhall be collected by my fougedar, for the uſe of my offices; and I will ſuffer no other perſon to make purchaſes of this article in that country.

FIFTHLY, In the chucla of Silhet for the ſpace of five years, commencing with the Bengal year 1170, my fougedar, and the Company's gomaſtah, ſhall jointly prepare Chunam, of which each ſhall defray half the expences; and half the Chunam ſo made, ſhall be given to the Company, and the other half ſhall be for my uſe.

SIXTHLY, I will maintain twelve thouſand horſe, and twelve thouſand foot in the three provinces; and if there ſhould be occaſion for more, the number ſhall be increaſed proportionably to the

the emergency. Beſides theſe, the force of the Engliſh Company ſhall always attend me when they are wanted.

SEVENTHLY, Wherever I ſhall fix my court, either at Moorſhedabad or elſewhere, I will adviſe the Governor and Council; and whatever number of Engliſh forces I may have occaſion for, in the management of my affairs, I will demand them, and they ſhall be allowed me; and an Engliſh gentleman ſhall reſide with me, to tranſact all affairs between me and the Company; and a perſon ſhall alſo reſide on my part at Calcutta, to negotiate with the Governor and Council.

EIGHTHLY, The late perwannah iſſued by Coſſim Allee Cawn, granting to all merchants the exemption of all duties, for the ſpace of two years, ſhall be reverſed and called in, and the duties collected as before.

NINTHLY, I will cauſe the rupees, coined in Calcutta, to paſs in every reſpect equal to the ſiccas of Moorſhedabad, without any deduction of batta; and

whoſoever

whoſoever ſhall demand batta ſhall be puniſhed.

TENTHLY, I will give thirty lacks of rupees to defray all the expences and loſs accruing to the Company, from the war and ſtoppage of their inveſtment; and I will reimburſe to all private perſons the amount of ſuch loſſes, proved before the Governor and Council, as they may ſuſtain in their trade in the country; if I ſhould not be able to diſcharge this in ready money, I will give aſſignments of land for the amount.

ELEVENTHLY, I will confirm and renew the treaty which I formerly made with the Dutch.

TWELFTHLY, If the French come into the country, I will not allow them to erect any fortifications, maintain forces, or hold lands, zemindarrees, &c. but they ſhall pay tribute, and carry on their trade as in former times.

THIRTEENTHLY, Some regulations ſhall be hereafter ſettled between us, for deciding all diſputes which may ariſe between the Engliſh agents and gomaſtahs

tahs in the different parts of the country, and my officers.

In teſtimony whereof, we the ſaid Governor and Council have ſet our hands, and affixed the ſeal of the Company to one part hereof; and the Nabob aforenamed, hath ſet his hand and ſeal to another part hereof; which were mutually done, and interchanged at Fort William, the 10th day of July, 1764.

(Signed) Henry Vanſittart,
John Carnac,
William Billers,
John Cartier,
Warren Haſtings,
Randolph Marriott,
Hugh Watts."

Demands made on the Part of the Nabob Meer Mahomed Jaffier Cawn, *to the Governor and Council, at the Time of ſigning the Treaty.*

"FIRST, I formerly acquainted the Company with the particulars of my own affairs, and received from them repeated letters of encouragement with preſents.

preſents. I now make this requeſt, that you will write in a proper manner to the Company, and alſo to the King of England, the particulars of our friendſhip and union; and procure for me writings of encouragement, that my mind may be aſſured from that quarter, that no breach may ever happen between me and the Engliſh; and that every Governor and Counſellor, and Chief, who are here, or may hereafter come, may be well diſpoſed and attached to me.

SECONDLY, Since all the Engliſh gentlemen, aſſured of my friendly diſpoſition to the Company, confirm me in the Nizamut; I requeſt, that to whatever I may at any time write, they will give their credit and aſſent, nor regard the ſtories of deſigning men to my prejudice, that all my affairs may go on with ſucceſs, and no occaſion may ariſe for jealouſy or ill-will between us.

THIRDLY, Let no protection be given, by any of the Engliſh gentlemen, to any of my dependents, who may fly for ſhelter to Calcutta, or other of your diſtricts; but

but let them be delivered up to me on demand. I ſhall ſtrictly enjoin all my fougedars and amils on all accounts, to afford aſſiſtance and countenance to ſuch of the gomaſtahs of the Company, as attend to the lawful trade of their factories; and if any of the ſaid gomaſtahs ſhall act otherwiſe, let them be checked in ſuch a manner, as may be an example to others.

FOURTHLY, From the neighborhood of Calcutta to Hoogly, and many of the perganahs bordering upon each other, it happens, that on complaints being made, people go againſt the taalookdars, reiats, and tenants of my towns, to the prejudice of the buſineſs of the Sircar; wherefore, let ſtrict orders be given, that no peons be ſent from Calcutta on the complaint of any one, upon my taalookdars or tenants; but on ſuch occaſions, let application be made to me, or the Naib of the fougedarree of Hoogly, that the country may be ſubject to no loſs or deſtation. And if any of the merchants and traders which belonged to the bux-

bunder

hunder and azimgunge, and have ſettled in Calcutta, ſhould be deſirous of returning to Hoogly, and carrying on their buſineſs there as formerly, let no one moleſt them. Chandernagore, and the French factory, was preſended to me by colonel Clive, and given by me in charge to Ameer Beg Cawn. For this reaſon, let ſtrict orders be given, that no Engliſh gentlemen exerciſe any authority therein, but that it remain as formerly, under the juriſdiction of my people.

FIFTHLY, Whenever I may demand any forces from the Governor and Council for my aſſiſtance, let them be immediately ſent to me, and no demand made on me for their expences.

THE demands of the Nabob Shujaaool Moolk Hiſſam, o Dowla Meer Mahomed Jaffier Cawn Behader Mohabut Jung, written in five articles. We the Preſident and Council of the Engliſh Company do agree, and ſet our hands to, in Fort William, the 10th of July, 1763."

Signed, &c.

HAVING

* Majors Adams and Carnac abſent.

HAVING related all the material tranſactions with Meer Coſſim, from his advancement to the ſubahſhip, till the period in which he was no longer regarded by us as the governor of theſe provinces, I ſhall refer the reader to the accounts already publiſhed of the operations of the war, which are foreign to the purpoſe of this work. It will ſuffice here to ſay, that by the ſuperior courage and diſcipline of our troops, and the admirable conduct and activity of major Adams their commander, the war was brought to a concluſion, by the expulſion of Meer Coſſim beyond the Caramnaſſa, in about five months from its commencement, with little loſs, beſides that of the unhappy priſoners who fell into Meer Coſſim's hands at the beginning of the troubles, and were put to death at Patna by his orders, on the 5th of October. With ſome particulars of that dreadful cataſtrophe, I ſhall conclude this narrative.

THE firſt intimation of ſuch a deſign, we received in a letter from Meer Coſſim to major Adams, a few days after the attack

tack of the entrenchments at Oodwa Nullah; the following is an exact tranſlation of it.

Tranſlation of a Letter from Coſſim Allee Cawn *to Major* Adams. *Dated* September 9, 1763.

"THAT for theſe three months you have been laying waſte the King's country with your forces, what authority have you? If you are in poſſeſſion of any royal Sunnud for my diſmiſſion, you ought to ſend me either the original, or a copy of it, that having ſeen it, and ſhewn it to my army, I may quit this country, and repair to the preſence of his Majeſty. Altho' I have in no reſpect intended any breach of public faith, yet Mr. Ellis, regarding not treaties or engagements, in violation of public faith, proceeded againſt me with treachery and night-aſſaults. All my people then believed that no peace or terms now remained with the Engliſh, and that, wherever they could be found, it was their duty to kill them. With

this

this opinion it was, that the aumils of Moorſhedabad killed Mr. Amyatt, but it was by no means agreeable to me, that that gentleman ſhould be killed. On this account I write; if you are reſolved on your own authority to proceed in this buſineſs, know for a certainty, that I will cut off the heads of Mr. Ellis and the reſt of your chiefs, and ſend them to you.

EXULT not upon the ſucceſs which you have gained merely by treachery and night-aſſaults, in two or three places, over a few jemmatdars ſent by me. By the will of God, you ſhall ſee in what manner this ſhall be revenged and retaliated."

THE threats contained in this letter, did not give me any great apprehenſion at the time, as it was a natural and obvious policy in the Nabob, to make uſe of the advantage which he had in his hands, to intimidate us to a compliance with his terms; and to execute thoſe threats, would be to deprive himſelf of

that advantage, without any equivalent gained for it. As Meer Coſſim had never ſhewn any marks of a cruel diſpoſition, there could be no ſufficient reaſon to ſuſpect him of a deſign, to make a wanton ſacrifice of ſo many lives to his revenge, much leſs to involve thoſe in the ſame fate, who could in no reſpect be regarded by him as objects of his reſentment.

IT was, however, in his power to execute the worſt of what he threatened; and the moſt proper argument to divert him from ſuch a reſolution, I judged, was to ſet before his eyes the horror, as well as inutility of the act, and the guilt and infamy which would attend it. This I did in the following letter, which I wrote to him upon this occaſion, with the advice and conſent of the Council.

Copy

Copy of a Letter from the Governor to Coſſim Allee Cawn. *Dated* September 17. 1763.

"I HAVE received from major Adams the copy of your letter to him, dated the laſt of Seffer. Mr. Amyatt and Mr. Hay were ſent to you as ambaſſadors, a title ſacred among all nations; yet, in violation of that title, you cauſed Mr. Amyatt to be attacked and killed on his return, after having given him your paſſports; and Mr. Hay you unjuſtly kept as a priſoner with you. You ſurrounded and attacked our factory at Coſſimbuzar, and carried away our gentlemen from thence priſoners, in a moſt diſgraceful manner to Mongheer, altho' they had no concern in the war, nor reſiſted your people. In like manner, in all other parts you attacked the Engliſh agents who were carrying on their trade quietly; ſome you killed, and ſome were carried away priſoners, and their effects were every where plundered. After theſe proceedings, do you aſk for what reaſon major Adams was ſent with an army? You know the laws

of God and man; as you had declared you would turn the Engliſh out of the country, and had proceeded as far as you could towards it, it became neceſſary for us to take meaſures for our own defence, and for the care of our own reputation. Thanks be to God, that ſucceſs has attended our army thus far, and they will continue their march in the ſame manner as far as the Caramnaſſa, that the country may be freed from diſturbances, and the inhabitants relieved from the horrors of war; and altho' we are ſhocked, as muſt all people of all religions and all nations, at the revenge which you threaten to take upon the lives of our chiefs, who have been unfortunately and unjuſtly taken priſoners by you; yet, the honor of our nation, and the intereſts of the Company, will not be ſacrificed to this conſideration, nor the operations of our army ſtopped. To put priſoners of war to death, is an act which will appear ſhocking and unlawful, not only to Chriſtians and Muſſulmen, but to the moſt barbarous Pagans; ſuch ſentiments

are no where to be met with, but among the beaſts of the foreſt. After the battle of Oodwa Nulla, above a thouſand of your officers and men were priſoners in the hands of Major Adams, who releaſed them without hurt or injury. Reflect on this, and on your own character, both in this world and the next; and remember alſo, that if you had followed my advice, this war would not have happened."

IN the mean time, major Adams judging the moſt effectual method would be to act upon the Nabob's fears, had already returned an anſwer to his letter, in the following terms.

Copy of a Letter from Major Adams *to* Coſſim Allee Cawn.

"I RECEIVED your letter, and underſtand the contents. The Engliſh having always had in view the articles of the treaty, endeavored by pacific meaſures to reconcile all differences with you, till the perfidious maſſacre of Mr. Amy-

att compelled them, contrary to their inclinations, to declare war againſt you. You ſay, it was not your intention to murder Mr. Amyatt, why then did you not puniſh the aggreſſors with the utmoſt ſeverity? There are three months elapſed and nothing done. We have now, by the aſſiſtance of Providence, brought your affairs to a very low ebb. It is true, you have Mr. Ellis, and many other gentlemen in your power; if a hair of their heads is hurt, you can have no title to mercy from the Engliſh, and you may depend upon the utmoſt fury of their reſentment, and that they will purſue you to the utmoſt extremity of the earth; and ſhould we unfortunately not lay hold of you, the vengeance of the Almighty cannot fail overtaking you, if you perpetrate ſo horrid an act, as the murder of the gentlemen in your cuſtody."

BUT both threats and expoſtulations proved ineffectual; and our unhappy countrymen, to the number of about fifty Company's ſervants, civil and milita-

ry,

ry, and other gentlemen, and a hundred private men, were ſacrificed to a boundleſs revenge.

MR. FULLARTON, the ſurgeon of the Patna factory, the only perſon who eſcaped the wretched fate of the reſt, ſaw Meer Coſſim immediately after the execution of this horrid tragedy; and it is from him only, we can have a certain account of the ſtate of mind he was in at the time, a ſtate little different from madneſs, ſince he could have a thought of treating with us, after having wantonly ſhed the blood of ſo many of our countrymen; this will be ſeen in the following extract of a letter which Mr. Fullarton wrote to the Board on the ſubject,

Extract from Mr. Fullarton's *Letter to the Board.*

"MR. Ellis, with the reſt of the gentlemen, were inhumanly butchered by Shimroo *, who came that evening to the place with two companies (he had the day before ſent for all the

* Sombre or Sumroo, a Frenchman in Meer Coſſim's ſervice.

knives and forks from the gentlemen) he ſurrounded the houſe with his people, and went into a little outer ſquare, and ſent for Meſſ. Ellis, Hay and Luſhington, and with them came ſix other gentlemen, who were all terribly mangled, and cut to pieces, and their bodies thrown into a well in the ſquare, and it filled up; then the ſeepoys were ſent into the large ſquare, and fired on the gentlemen there, and ruſhing upon them, cut them into pieces, in the moſt inhuman manner, and they were thrown into another large well, which was likewiſe filled up.

THE 7th, the Nabob ſent for me, and told me to get myſelf in readineſs to go to Calcutta, for that though he had been unlucky in the war (which he aſſerted with great warmth, had not been of his ſeeking, nor had he been the aggreſſor, reproaching the Engliſh with want of fidelity, and breach of treaty) yet he ſaid, he had ſtill hopes of an accommodation; he aſked me what I thought of it. I told him, I made no doubt of it. When ſome of his people, who were

preſent,

preſent, mentioned the affair of Mr. Amyatt's death; he declared, that he had never given any orders for killing Mr. Amyatt; but after receiving advice of Mr. Ellis's having attacked Patna, he had ordered all his ſervants to take and impriſon all the Engliſh in the provinces, wherever they could find them; he likewiſe added, that if a treaty was not ſet a foot, he would bring the King, the Morattas, and Abdallas againſt us, and ſo ruin our trade, &c. He had finiſhed his letters, and ordered boats, and a guard to conduct me; when, upon the advice of ſome of his people, he ſtopped me, and ſaid, there was no occaſion for me to go. After his ſending for me at firſt, he ordered the ſeepoys, in whoſe charge I was, to go to their quarters, two moguls, and twelve hircarras to attend me, but to let me go about the city where I pleaſed. I then applied for liberty to ſtay at the Dutch factory, which was granted. I applied to Mehdee Allee Cawn, for his intereſt in behalf of the gentlemen in the Chelſton, who were

ſeven

ſeven in number, and were not killed till the 11th of October; but when he was petitioned about them, he gave no anſwer; but ſtill ſent orders to Shimroo, to cut them off. I likewiſe applied to Allee Ibrahim Cawn, who interceded for them; but he gave him no anſwer either, tho' I was preſent when Ibrahim Cawn petitioned for them.

THE 14th of October, on the approach of our army, Coſſim Allee decamped with his troops in great confuſion, and marched as far as Fulwarree, five coſs to the weſtward of the city. The hircarras that were with me having no orders about me, I gave them ſome money, which made them pretty eaſy.

THE 25th, after giving money to a jemmatdar, that had the guard to the weſtward of the Dutch factory, by the river-ſide, I ſet out in a ſmall pulwar, and got ſafe to the boats, under command of captain Wedderburn, that were lying oppoſite to the city, on the other ſide of the river, and at 11 o'clock that night arrived

arrived at the army, under the command of major Adams, lying at Jonſy."

APPENDIX.

General Obſervations upon the preceding Events, with ſome later Occurrences.

Remarks upon Meer Coſſim's *Adminiſtration; his Behavior in the Courſe of the Diſputes with the Council, and after the War broke out.——Obſervations on the Death of Mr.* Amyatt.—*The Neceſſity and Propriety of the Aſſault of* Patna *examined.—Review of* Meer Coſſim's *Character and Conduct at different Periods.—Proofs of the Intrigues carried on againſt* Meer Coſſim, *at the Courts of the King, and* Shuja Dowla, *by Mr.* Ellis, *and Major* Carnac.——*Explanation of Mr.* Vanſittart's *Conduct to the* Nabob, *and to the Party which oppoſed him.—Reflections upon the Nature of the inland Trade; the Complaints on that Subject, lately made by* Meer

Meer Jaffier; *and the Reſtrictions a-greed on in Conſequence.—Mr.* Vanſittart's *Reaſons for prolonging his Stay in* Bengal.—*Concluſion.*

THE reproach which Meer Coſſim has brought upon himſelf, by the cruelty exerciſed on the unhappy priſoners at Patna, puts it in a manner out of my power to do juſtice to the former part of his conduct, ſince how ſtrictly ſoever he may have adhered to his engagements with the Engliſh, this will always recur as an argument to vindicate every injury done him before this period; and the repeated violations of the treaty, on our part, whilſt we were on terms of friendſhip with him. However, as my deſign is not to become an advocate for Meer Coſſim, but to juſtify my own conduct, in oppoſition to that of the other members of the Council towards him, in which no incidents ſince paſt could poſſibly have ſerved as a motive; I ſhall proceed to a ſhort examination of his behavior, and that of the party which oppoſed

oppoſed him, from his firſt advancement to the ſubahſhip, to the breaking out of the war; after which, I ſhall add ſome remarks upon my own, in the difficult part which I had to act between both.

SINCE the Nabob Meer Jaffier could not bear an aſſiſtant in his government, upon the footing propoſed to him, but rather choſe to quit it, I thought it fortunate that the next right fell upon a man ſo well qualified as Meer Coſſim was, for reſtoring œconomy and good order to the diſtracted affairs of the country. In this light he was repreſented to me by all the gentlemen of the Select Committee, upon my arrival in Bengal; and his conduct from the beginning, till the war broke out between us, fully anſwered this character.

HE diſcharged the Company's debt, and the heavy arrears of his army; retrenched the expences of his court, which had before conſumed the income of his predeceſſors; and ſecured his own authority over the country, by reducing the

the power of the zemindars, who were before continual diſturbers of the peace of the province. All this I ſaw with pleaſure, well knowing, that the leſs need he had of our aſſiſtance, the leſs would be the Company's expences; and the better able they would be to attend to the care of their own poſſeſſions, at the ſame time that we might depend upon him, as a ſure and uſeful ally againſt any common enemy. I was convinced, that whilſt we did not encroach upon the Nabob's rights, or diſturb his government, he would never wiſh to quarrel with us; and, in effect, ſo cautious was he of giving occaſion for diſpute, that no one inſtance can be produced of his ſending a man into any of the lands ceded to us, or moleſting us in a ſingle article of our commerce, till the contention which he was drawn into by the uſurpations of our gomaſtahs, and our new claims with reſpect to our private trade; and even to the breaking out of the war, during the height of our diſputes, the Company's buſineſs, in every part, went

on

on without the leaſt interruption, excepting one or two aggravated complaints of Mr. Ellis's concerning the ſalt-petre buſineſs.

How different was the conduct of the gentlemen, who had formed themſelves into a party againſt him! From the time of his advancement to the ſubahſhip, ſcarce a day paſſed, but occaſion was taken from the moſt trifling pretences, to trample upon his government, to ſeize his officers, and to inſult them with perſonal threats and invectives. I need not point out inſtances of this, they will be ſeen in every page of this Narrative; and any one of them would have been, in the Nabob, pronounced a ſufficient reaſon by thoſe very gentlemen for declaring war againſt him. It is not to be wondered at, if, irritated and tired out with theſe continual attacks, he ſhould grow ſuſpicious of our friendſhip, which only manifeſted itſelf in profeſſions contradicted daily by our actions; or that his reſentment ſhould, upon ſome occaſions, have urged him to retaliate the

injuries

injuries which he received. Yet for a long time he ſubmitted to all his grievances, contenting himſelf with remonſtrating againſt them, in the hopes, that it would be in my power, ſome time or other, to reſtore him to his authority.

THE firſt inſtance of his uſing force to repel the violences that were offered him, was in the attack of the remainder of the party at Mow, which had juſt before ſeized and carried off one of his principal officers. Such an indignity offered before his eyes, and in the preſence of his whole army, was ſufficient to provoke him to ſome deſperate act; and an abſolute forbearance muſt have rendered him contemptible to the laſt degree, in the eyes of his own people. Yet after he had cauſed the ſeepoys and the gomaſtahs to be brought before him, he even then gave a freſh inſtance of his deſire to preſerve a friendſhip with us, by diſmiſſing them without any further notice, than to reproach the gomaſtah for having drawn this unprovoked inſult upon him, altho' his

own

own officer was at this time cloſe priſoner at Patna.

THE great pains taken by Meer Coſſim, in his letter to major Adams, and in the converſation which he had afterwards with Mr. Fullarton, to clear himſelf from the charge of Mr. Amyatt's death, muſt have ſtruck the reader with the appearance of great inconſiſtency; in the firſt, he threatens to put to death all the Engliſh that were in his hands; and at the time that he ſaw Mr. Fullarton, this threat had actually been carried into execution but two days before; yet with the conſciouſneſs of having recently ſacrificed ſo many lives, to a deliberate and undiſtinguiſhing revenge, he could appear unaffected with all that had paſſed, excepting the death of a ſingle perſon, which he labored to prove the effect of the violence of his officers, who had exceeded his orders. This unhappy affair, even ſuppoſing him as culpable as he appeared to be at the time in which it was tranſacted, had many circumſtances to extenuate the guilt of it,

when put in compariſon with the laſt dreadful effect of his reſentment.

THE ſuſpicion which he had from the firſt entertained of Mr. Amyatt's deputation, the date of that gentleman's departure from Monghеer, compared with that of the attack of Patna; and the natural concluſion which he could not avoid drawing from it, that Mr. Amyatt had adviſed it, might, in the ſudden impulſe of his fury, have hurried him to revenge himſelf, in this manner, on Mr. Amyatt, for an action which he put to the account of a treachery on his part, deſigned to be put in execution, as ſoon as he ſhould be out of the Nabob's reach. Whether this was the caſe or not, it is plain, he looked upon the death of Mr. Amyatt as the principal cauſe, the proclaimed motive of our declaring war againſt him, and every thing that had happened afterwards, but as a juſt and natural conſequence of the war. In a word, he thought it needleſs to juſtify himſelf upon any of the blood that was ſpilt after the war was begun,

begun, and ſtudied only to prove that he did not begin it.

THAT we were the firſt aggreſſors, by the aſſault of the city of Patna will not be diſputed. I will not take upon me to pronounce how far Mr. Ellis, in taking this ill-fated ſtep, or the Board in authorizing him to do it, were to blame; of this every one will judge, from the light in which it may differently appear to him. My own opinion is, that Mr. Ellis's intention was, from the beginning, to break with the Nabob; and that the diſcretionary powers, which he ſo earneſtly ſollicited, and ſo paſſionately complained of being with-held, were wanted only as a ſanction for executing what he had already reſolved on: of this I repeatedly declared my apprehenſions; and, for that reaſon, always refuſed to give my conſent to any orders that put it in the power of Mr. Ellis to begin the war, when he ſhould think proper; and, in effect, no ſooner was he in poſſeſſion of ſuch an authority, than

he immediately made the uſe of it which I had dreaded.

IT will be argued by many, that the war with the Nabob was unavoidable; and, therefore, that Mr. Ellis was in the right to ſtrike the firſt blow, if, by ſo doing, he could ſecure an advantage; for my own part, I do not think we were at that time ſo near to a rupture, but that it was our power to have avoided it, and upon our own terms, had we been in earneſt inclined to it.

MR. AMYATT's negotiation had been broke off, becauſe the Nobob ſaw, that whatever conceſſions he might make, would be rendered of no effect, by the preparations which Mr. Ellis was making to attack the city of Patna, and would appear only as proceeding from a conſciouſneſs of his own weakneſs; he therefore diſmiſſed Mr. Amyatt, and as far as we can learn, with all the uſual marks of friendſhip and reſpect. No war was declared by him, but the laſt determination upon the ſubject of our differences left to the Governor and Council; and

Mr.

Mr. Hay remained with the Nabob as a pledge, for the releaſe of ſuch of his officers as we had made priſoners.

I THINK, that had Mr. Ellis left the Nabob any hope of an accommodation, he would have conſented to the terms which were demanded of him, and ſubmitted to all the inconveniencies they would have laid him under, until juſtice could be done him by the Company. This was certainly his intention, when he took the trouble to write them ſo full a * remonſtrance of his grievances; and it ſeems to have been his diſpoſition ſo late as the 19th of June, as may be judged from his letter †, and Meſſ. Amyatt and Hay's ‡ of that date, where it appears that he releaſed the arms, deſiſted from his preliminary demands, and conſented to proceed in the negotiation.

POSSIBLY the advices from Patna had given him hopes, that Mr. Ellis might refrain from hoſtilities, till war or peace ſhould be concluded on between him and Mr. Amyatt, or the Board. If ſuch

* Page 185. † Page 300. ‡ Page 299.

was his expectation, he was ſoon undeceived by Mehdee Allee Cawn's letter*, which informed him that Mr. Ellis was preparing to attack the city. He then ordered the boats with arms again to be ſtopped, but ſtill conſented that Mr. Amyatt ſhould take his leave, and tranſmit him the final determination of the Board from Calcutta.

THOSE who are fond of ſearching for refined and deep deſigns in the moſt natural actions, may attribute theſe frequent changes in the Nabob's behavior, to a policy formed to blind Mr. Amyatt and gain time; which, however, will not appear very probable, if we reflect, that the whole of this tranſaction happened in the ſhort ſpace of two or three days.

IN this ſituation Mr. Amyatt left the Nabob; Mr. Ellis heard of it the evening of the 24th of June, and the ſame night ſurprized and took the city.

LET any impartial perſon now put himſelf in the place of Meer Coſſim, and ſay

* Page 309.

ſay whether he could have regarded this aſſault on the city of Patna, in any other light than as an act of treachery; and the ſtrongeſt argument, that all the pacific declarations and proffered treaties, were only artifices to make him a dupe to our deſigns, and the inſtrument of his own ruin.

ALTHO' I have diſclaimed the principle of attacking the Nabob firſt, becauſe it was probable that he might attack us (an argument which would equally juſtify every act of enmity, to thoſe whom we have at any time injured;) yet, I will ſuppoſe it allowable to ſeize ſuch an advantage, if the ſafety of our forces at Patna abſolutely depended upon it. To form a judgment of this neceſſity, it will be proper to conſider the force which we had at that time at Patna, compared with that which major Adams had under his command during the war.

THE former I have already * mentioned to conſiſt of 220 European infantry,

* See the return, page 160. It is true, Mr. Ellis adviſes that 200 ſeepoys had deſerted from the 1ſt

try, non-commiſſioned and ſoldiers; 27 officers, 57 men of the artillery, and 2500 ſeepoys, rank and file, beſides officers, the moſt part of the ſeepoys the oldeſt, and the beſt diſciplined of any in the ſervice.

MAJOR ADAMS had, before the battle of Gheerea, about 800 Europeans, including artillery and cavalry; and about 2200 ſeepoys, many of which were new recruits raiſed in Calcutta and the neighborhood.

THE diſproportion between the two bodies, will by no means appear ſo great, as that of the ſervices which they were to perform. Major Adams had to encounter the Nabob's whole force, already fluſhed with ſucceſs; whereas the detachment at Patna (which was then generally eſteemed, and confeſſedly by Mr. Ellis himſelf, ſuperior to any force that the Nabob

1ſt to the 5th of June; but as the beſt accounts ſince collected of the force which attacked the city, makes the number of ſeepoys about 2300, it is probable the encouragment of batta, given them by Mr. Ellis, as mentioned in his letter of the 6th of June, prevented any further deſertion.

Nabob could ſend againſt it) had nothing to fear but from a part of the Nabob's troops; ſince it is not likely, that he would have left the whole province of Bengal expoſed to our army, to go and attack them at Patna; and as a proof of this, it appears from Mr. Amyatt's letters before he left Mongheer, that the Nabob had actually ſent forces down to Bengal.

NEITHER ſuppoſing it neceſſary to attack the city of Patna, would the place have been made more defenſible by any reinforcements that the Nabob might have ſent into it, ſince their numbers were ſo great already (as Mr. Ellis repeatedly mentions in his letters) that any added to them would but have increaſed their confuſion; yet the city was carried without the leaſt difficulty; and I believe it is ſufficiently clear, that it was not the want of numbers, but of order, that occaſioned our miſcarriage afterwards.

MEER COSSIM had not to this time ſhewn any inſtance of a vicious, or a violent

violent diſpoſition; he could not be taxed with any act of cruelty to his own ſubjects, nor treachery to us. He had ſenſe enough to know, that the Engliſh friendſhip would be his greateſt ſecurity, and to dread their power, if ever they ſhould come to be his enemies. As he perceived ſome of the Council were diſinclined to him, he was the more cautious to avoid giving occaſion of diſpute; and as long as he ſaw I could ſupport him againſt any direct inſults, he ſuffered many affronts and encroachments upon his government with forbearance; but when the diſputes became more ſerious, and meaſures were taken of ſuch a nature, as made him judge we were determined to break with him; ſenſible of the increaſed power of his enemies, and diſappointed of the ſupport which he had been made to expect from the Company, he found himſelf neceſſitated to act a different part, and at the ſame time that he endeavored to evade the impending ſtorm, to provide againſt the effects of it. This will eaſily be ſeen in

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the change of his behavior after the ſummoning of the general Council; and to this cauſe may be aſcribed the too great attention he latterly paid to the complaints of his officers, and his connivance at their oppreſſions; which, whilſt his complaints againſt our own agents yet remained unredreſſed, he could not puniſh, without expoſing his own weakneſs, and forfeiting the attachment of the moſt uſeful of his ſubjects.

THUS far his conduct may bear the ſevereſt examination; and as an argument that it was generally approved by his own ſubjects, it is remarkable, that when the war broke out between us, altho' he wanted the courage to face his enemies in perſon, yet his ſoldiers fought for him with a bravery and fidelity rarely experienced in the undiſciplined troops of Indoſtan; nor did any one of his officers, in the moſt diſtant part of his dominions, revolt from his authority to join us, till Patna was taken, and he was preparing to fly the province. This muſt be attributed to their affection for him,

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unleſs we rather chuſe to place it to the account of their contempt for Meer Jaffier, or their reſentment of our oppreſſions.

As to the laſt wretched act of Meer Coſſim's government, altho' it is far from my deſign, and from my nature, to attempt to juſtify his cruelty, yet it is eaſy to account for it. His forces had been ſucceſſively worſted; his country was wreſted out of his hands; all his hopes of a reconciliation were for ever cut off by our new engagements with Meer Jaffier, and his re-appointment to the ſubahſhip. He had no way to elude the danger which preſſed upon him, but to fly for ſhelter into the dominions of the Nabob Shuja Dowla, where his laſt reſource was in the caſual ſupport, which the ambitious views of his protector, concurring with his ſafety, might for a few days afford him: but his ruin he knew to be irretrievable, and a violent death the certain conſequence of ill ſucceſs and loſt power. A dreadful reverſe of fortune in a man, who, but a few months before, ſaw himſelf maſter of the richeſt

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province of Indoſtan, and ſo ſecure from all appearance of danger at home, as even to form the deſign of encreaſing his dominions, by the conqueſt of others!

FALLEN as Meer Coſſim was to this ſtate of deſparation, it is no wonder that his temper broke all his former reſtraints, and gave a looſe to that ſpirit of revenge, ſo common among his countrymen, and inculcated by their religion and education. In effect, the hoarded reſentment of all the injuries which he had ſuſtained in continual exertion of patience, during the three years of his government, from this time took entire poſſeſſion of his mind, now rendered frantic by his natural timidity, and the frightful proſpect before him; and drove from thence every other principle, till it had glutted itſelf with the blood of all within his reach, who had either contributed to his misfortunes, or by real or fancied connections with his enemies became obnoxious to his revenge. In a word, as the influence of thoſe who were the Nabob's

avowed

avowed enemies amongſt us, had encouraged the contention, which at length became univerſal againſt him; his reſentment no longer limited itſelf to particulars, but became national; and the Engliſh in general, as well as their adherents, were the natural objects of it. Such was the dreadful end of the meaſures, which a violent party had proſecuted with immoveable perſeverance, from the beginning of Meer Coſſim's government; although I had ſpared no pains to perſuade them, and all the world, of the neceſſity of the meaſures which I had taken, and to reſtore unanimity to our country, by which the tranquillity ſo happily eſtabliſhed would have been preſerved, and thoſe effects prevented, which have ſince fallen, with equal ſeverity, upon us all!

THE Nabob, in many of his letters, complained of a correſpondence carried on by Mr. Ellis, and major Carnac, with Shuja Dowla; and of a concerted deſign, to procure the King's nomination of another perſon to the ſubahdarree. This

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certainly was a ſubject of very great uneaſineſs to the Nabob; but however aſſured he might be of the reality of ſuch deſigns, he could never produce ſufficient proofs to ſatisfy the Board of the truth of them, as thoſe gentlemen conſtantly denied the charge, affirming it to have no other foundation, than in his diſaffection to the Engliſh, and his readineſs to credit every idle report to their diſadvantage. It has ſince appeared, that he had but too much reaſon for theſe complaints, as will be ſeen in the following extracts of two letters, which were received from Shitabroy, and Momtaz o Dowla, ſince the concluſion of the war, when they might think there was no longer any occaſion to conceal their ſervices, but rather choſe to make a merit of them with both parties, now united againſt Meer Coſſim.

Extract

Extract of a Letter from Rajah Shitabroy *to Major* Adams.

"YOU are acquainted with the attachment I have long ſhewn to the Engliſh gentlemen; accordingly, you have ſeen with your own eyes the favors beſtowed on me by colonel Coote; and you may remember, that he introduced me to you at Gherettee. Moreover, you muſt have heard from colonel Coote, and major Carnac, of my ſervices in treating with the King. Afterwards, when I retired out of the Patna province, on account of the enmity of Meer Mahomed Coſſim, I went to the Royal army, where I remained eight months with the King, and the Vizir; and then the Vizir ſent me along with Mharajah Benee Behader, who is Naib of the provinces, and has authority over all the affairs of the empire. As I was always extremely deſirous of obtaining the good will of the Engliſh gentlemen, I forwarded all the letters which Mr. Ellis and Mr. Luſhington ſent to the Court, and treated for them in a proper manner; and accordingly it is univerſally

verſally reported, that all the buſineſs of the Engliſh Chiefs at the Imperial Court is carried on through Shitabroy."

Extract of a Letter from Momtaz o' Dowla Ferzund Cawn Buxy, *to Major* Carnac. *Received* December 15, 1763.

"MEER COSSIM, notwithſtanding the ſmallneſs of his charge, and the ſhort duration of his government, is yet greatly in debt to the Royal Sircar; his Majeſty has long been diſpleaſed with him. You ſeveral times repreſented to the Royal preſence the Behaviour of Meer Coſſim, and your earneſt deſire, nor was it unadviſeable or diſapproved; and his Majeſty's inclinations and endeavours are now likewiſe entirely ſuitable."

I HAVE been accuſed by my enemies, of eſpouſing, too partially, the cauſe of the Nabob; and my friends have blamed me as much for exerciſing too great lenity to the faction which oppoſed me. I think it neceſſary to ſhew the princi-

ples on which I guided myſelf towards both.

THE Nabob was ſcarcely advanced to the ſubahſhip, when the party formed itſelf againſt him; and as they made no ſecret of their ſentiments, but rather induſtriouſly publiſhed them, he had notice of it almoſt as ſoon as it was formed, and of the meaſures which were taken to ſupport it, and overſet him.

HE was told, that colonel Coote, major Carnac, Mr. Amyatt, and Mr. Ellis, had written againſt him to the Company; that they had ſworn together to effect the reſtitution of Jaffier Allee Cawn; and that Mr. Fullerton * had been diſpatched to England, to aſſiſt in the ſame deſign. It was therefore my buſineſs to endeavor, by every means, to convince him of my friendſhip and reſolution to ſupport him in all his juſt rights; and in this I ſo far ſucceeded, as to gain his entire confidence in my attachment to him, and to preſerve an influence over him, as long as he ſaw, that I had it in my power to befriend him. In ſupporting him,

* One of the ſurgeons of Calcutta.

him, I knew I ſupported an eſtabliſh-ment, with which the intereſts of the Company were ſo connected, that they could not be ſeparated without danger of involving both in ruin; and I knew alſo, that he never could raiſe his power to an equality with ours, nor attempt to ſhake off his dependency on us, with the leaſt probability of ſucceſs. Beſides, do any laws allow, that every ſtronger power may encroach upon the rights of his weaker neighbor, for fear that, at ſome future time, he ſhould become able to diſpute upon more equal terms? But the ſuppoſition of ſuch a deſign, in the Nabob, proceeded only from a conſciouſ-neſs of having done him ſuch injuries, as might naturally move his reſentment. In-ſtead, therefore, of adding ruin to former injuries, we ought to have deſiſted from our encroachments, and by that eaſy and juſt method, have confirmed the friendſhip between us; a conduct the more indiſpenſable, as we were bound to obſerve it, by the ſtrongeſt ties of public treaty.

To eſtabliſh him, therefore, in the full authority over his own people, and allow him the juſt rights of his government, was to make him an uſeful ally inſtead of a burthen to us, which he muſt be without theſe, whilſt, by ſhewing a ſteady zeal and attachment to his intereſts, we ſhould inſure the ſame attachment in him to ours, and make him a faithful one.

THIS rule I laid down for my conduct; and as far as it conſiſted with the intereſts of the Company to which it was ſubſervient, I invariably purſued it, excepting where the violence of faction forced me into meaſures, which I could not prevent; and even then I kept the ſame principle in view, and renewed it when I could, with ſafety to the cauſe which I was defending; and I have now the conſcious ſatisfaction of reflecting, that had the reſt of the gentlemen, at the head of our affairs, conducted themſelves by my example, we ſhould, to this time, have enjoyed the acquiſitions derived to us from Meer Coſſim's advancement

vancement to the ſubahſhip, improved by all the benefits that a ſettled tranquillity, and a flouriſhing commerce, could add to them; and have had every reaſon to rejoice in our friendſhip and connection with a man, whom we now regard as a vagabond, a murderer, and the worſt of tyrants, rendered ſuch by the deſpair to which our injuſtice has driven him.

WHILST I labored to keep the Nabob firm to his engagements, I was no leſs ſollicitous, on the other hand, of introducing a good underſtanding amongſt ourſelves. It is true, I neither attempted this by unbecoming ſollicitations, nor by conſulting the perſonal intereſts of thoſe whom I wiſhed to ſee of the ſame opinion with myſelf; but reſting on the integrity of my own heart, I oppoſed every attack on the eſtabliſhment, which I had been an inſtrument in raiſing, and withſtood every aſſault upon my own character, with temper and forbearance; knowing, that to oppoſe their violence with equal violence, would but accelerate the ruin of the Company's affairs,

which it was my aim to prevent. I may add, that I am not in my own nature inclined to acts of ſeverity, but rather to look upon the errors and paſſions of others, with the indulgence which I ſhould expect to my own; and I yielded the more readily to this prevailing inclination, becauſe I knew, that nothing tended ſo ſurely to the deſtruction of any ſtate, even in the moſt flouriſhing circumſtances, as diviſions amongſt thoſe who rule it; and I hoped, that whilſt I kept ſuch a guard upon my own conduct, as to obviate every pretence of cenſure againſt myſelf, and avoided all diſagreeable and perſonal altercations, the flame of contention would go out of itſelf, for want of fuel to keep it alive.

SUCH were my hopes, but I knew not the ſpirits I had to deal with; and I found, too late, that the gentleſt uſage, loſt all its effect with prejudices ſo deeply rooted, and with minds compelled, by mutual ties, to perſevere in the cauſe in which they were once engaged.

IF my opinion be aſked, what precau-

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tions are neceſſary to prevent freſh troubles, and a renewal of our diſputes with the country government. I anſwer, that either the rules agreed on with Meer Coſſim muſt be adopted, or an entire ſtop put to the innovations which have taken place ſince the capture of Calcutta, and the private trade reſtrained within its ancient bounds.

THE reaſon is plain; great advantages accrued from theſe articles of trade, both to the country merchants who uſed to carry it on, and to the government by the cuſtoms they drew from it. Both theſe are now cut off, and the advantages in a manner engroſſed by the Engliſh, who ſay, they will pay no cuſtoms; and, to ſupport this uſurpation, our agents and gomaſtahs are armed with an authority, independent of the officers of the government.

IF we reſtrain the power of our agents and gomaſtahs, and acquieſce in the Nabob's officers exerciſing their proper authority, in deciding diſputes where ſuch dependents of ours are concerned, then

they, for the moſt part, will abuſe their authority, and totally obſtruct that trade, impelled not only by the jealouſy with which they regard this innovation of ours, and by their own intereſts, but by the complaints of the country merchants, who find themſelves excluded, and the oppreſſions to which this trade is more peculiarly liable when under no controul.

THE Nabob's right to this authority in his own government, cannot in juſtice be diſputed, and the leſs, as our own juriſdiction does not extend thither; nor have we either judges to determine diſputes in thoſe diſtant parts, or laws to determine them by; yet this right of the country government is ſuperſeded, and I am afraid, muſt be, if it be reſolved, that the privileges of our private trade extend ſo far; and it may not be improper to remark here, that it was upon this reaſoning, I agreed in the conſultation of the 11th of March, that our agents and gomaſtahs ſhould not be ſubject to the actual controul of the country government, after having aſſured the Nabob

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in the regulations that they ſhould; for the Council having reſolved, that they would inſiſt on a free trade in all articles, and to all places, there was no way of preſerving it, but by ſuperſeding that right of the Nabob's government.

THE violences with which the Nabob's officers exerciſed their authority, the inſtant it was put into their hands, and the encouragement which the Nabob had given to it, made me leſs attentive to the natural rights of juſtice in this caſe, where I ſaw plainly, that on either ſide there would be great oppreſſions; and I leſs dreaded the effects of any complaints which the Nabob might make, than the dangerous conſequences which they would produce, if we ourſelves were the ſufferers.

THE preſent Nabob Meer Jaffier, is no leſs clamorous upon theſe ſubjects, than Meer Coſſim was; and I am plainly of opinion, that upon the preſent ſyſtem, no friendſhip can be preſerved with any Nabob. The two governments claſh too frequently to ſtand upon a friendly footing;

footing; and therefore, if it is not thought right to eſtabliſh the regulations and reſtrictions before-mentioned, it is the higheſt degree of abſurdity, to pledge the national faith to a treaty, which it is not poſſible ſhould ſubſiſt; and to bind ourſelves to ſupport the Nabob in the authority over his country, when we deny him the exerciſe of that authority for the protection of his own ſubjects, at the ſame time too, that we confeſſedly want the power to protect them ourſelves.

IT has been aſſerted by Meſſ. Johnſtone and Hay in ſome of their minutes, and I believe by other members of the Board, that the oppreſſions of the gomaſtuhs, ſo frequently complained of by the Nabob, had no exiſtence. As an inconteſtible proof that ſuch did, and actually do exiſt, it may not be improper to ſubjoin ſome extracts of letters I have received on the ſubject at different times, from the chiefs of the ſubordinate factories.

THE firſt, is an extract of a letter from

from Mr. Cartier, chief at Dacca, dated the 8th of November, 1761, in anſwer to one I wrote him a few days before, to forbid the uſe of force in trade, and particularly the practice of obliging the inhabitants to purchaſe tobacco, whether they wanted it or not, and at an exorbitant advanced price. This extract will ſerve at once to ſhew the countenance which theſe oppreſſions have met with, and the impoſſibility of carrying on the inland trade without the uſe of force, which muſt be productive of oppreſſions, unleſs we would reconcile it to the country government, by paying duties like other merchants

Extract of a Letter from Mr. Cartier *to the Governor. Dated* Nov. 8, 1761.

"A FREEDOM of trade is too deſirable not to be wiſhed for, but difficult to be eſtabliſhed. While the country government are intereſted to aſſiſt thoſe that pay a duty on importation, they will ſecretly uſe methods to prevent the ſale of our goods, if left to their full

full liberty, or was I to undertake to ſell below the common run of the market, the pykars and merchants would be intimidated from trading with me, unleſs permitted to do ſo; nor is it probable they would, when it is ſo oppoſite to the intereſt of the people in the government: ſo that an undue and ruinous influence muſt be exerted on one ſide, and nothing left to oppoſe it."

Extract of a Letter from Mr. George Gray, *Chief at* Malda, *to the Governor. Dated* January 7, 1764.

"SINCE my arrival here, I have had an opportunity of ſeeing the villainous practices uſed by the Calcutta gomaſtahs in carrying on their buſineſs. The government have certainly too much reaſon to complain of their want of influence in their country, which is torn to pieces by a ſet of raſcals, who in Calcutta walk about in rags, but when they are ſent out on gomaſtahſhips, lord it over the country, impriſoning the ryats and merchants, and writing and talking

talking in the moſt inſolent, domineering manner to the fougedars and officers.

Extract of a Letter from Mr. Senior, *Chief at* Coſſimbuzar, *to the Governor. Dated* March 23, 1764.

"IT would amaze you, the number of complaints that daily come before me, of the extravagances committed by our agents and gomaſtahs, all over the country; but by puniſhing ſome of the immediate ſervants of the factory, and diſmiſſing others, I hope in time to bring things on a proper footing."

I COULD produce many other proofs from the Company's records, of the reality of the oppreſſions the country people ſuffer from the Engliſh agents and gomaſtahs, employed in the inland trade; but I believe this is a point that will be now no longer diſputed.

THE Nabob Meer Jaffier complains of it as much ſince his re-eſtabliſhment, as he did in his firſt adminiſtration. In ſhort, he repeatedly declared to the Governor

vernor and Council, after his return to Calcutta in 1764, that it was impoſſible for his government to ſubſiſt upon ſuch a footing, and earneſtly preſſed for the entire abolition of it, notwithſtanding the conſent he was obliged to give, in his treaty of July 1763. The Council was ſo ſenſible of the juſtice of the Nabob's remonſtrances, that we reſolved to put an end to theſe innovations, and give up the inland trade entirely, reſerving only the indulgence of ſending ſalt and beetle-nut to Patna and Coſſimbuzar; and this to be confined to the factories, and not permitted to be diſperſed about the country. European agents were forbid to reſide in the country, and the moſt poſitive orders ſent to the Chittagong, Dacca, and Luckypoor factories, to relinquiſh the ſalt works they had ſet up in prejudice of the country merchants; an act of juſtice which all the world now agreed in, altho' many of the members of the Board complained of it, as a grievous detraction from their rights, when I promiſed the ſame to Meer Coſ-

ſim,

ſim, in my letter of regulations *. If the ſame conſideration had been had for his rights, which is now had for thoſe of Meer Jaffier, and without which no friendſhip can poſſibly ſubſiſt between the two governments, I am perſuaded he would have proved a faithful ally.

As ſoon as the war with Meer Coſſim was ended, and the Nabob Meer Jaffier in full poſſeſſion of his government, I thought myſelf now at liberty to leave the country, which I had before declared my reſolution of doing, when there ſhould be no longer any public call upon me for my ſtay, I accordingly acquainted the Board with my intention, in the following letter.

Copy of the Governor's Letter to the Gentlemen of the Council. Fort William, December 19, 1763.

GENTLEMEN,

"THE unexpected and unfortunate events, with which the war with the late Nabob began, and which ſpread an alarm, that in ſome meaſure affected the

* Page 170, Vol. II.

the ſettlement itſelf, occaſioned my altering my intention of going to Europe laſt September; but our army being now maſters of the whole province, and hoſtilities at an end, I think my Employers cannot diſapprove of my proſecuting that intention this ſeaſon; and that my friends and family might blame me, if I remained longer without urgent reaſons, in a climate which has been found to affect me ſo frequently with dangerous diſorders. It is my intention, therefore, to take my leave of you the beginning of next month, and to proceed with commodore Tinker to Madras, where I ſhall embark immediately on board his Majeſty's ſhip Panther for England.

I THINK it my duty to acquaint you at the ſame time, with what obſervations occur to me on the preſent ſtate of the country. Meer Jaffier being again in poſſeſſion of the government, it is my wiſh he ſhould be ſupported in it as long as he lives. This was alſo my wiſh before, but I found it impoſſible; and

and now again, if ſome timely precautions are not taken, I am apprehenſive that you may ſoon find yourſelves under the ſame difficulties. The Nabob's incapacity for buſineſs is univerſally acknowledged; he ſhould endeavor to make up for that deficiency, by appointing men of experience and character to manage the different branches; but he ſeems rather to incline to throw himſelf into the hands of thoſe who flatter his weakneſs, and take advantage of it. We are aſſured that Nundcoomar has, at this time, the entire diſpoſal of the Nabob's will, and of all the affairs of the provinces, of which the conſequence will be, that we ſhall continually be amuſed and perplexed with his arts and intrigues. We ſhall be told of the ſchemes of the King, and the Morattas, and all the chiefs of the empire, and what weight and intereſt he has with them. We ſhall be obliged to keep a large army conſtantly in the field, to guard the province againſt deſigns which never exiſted, by which our military expences will abſorb the

moſt part of our revenues; and the Nabob will be led into an extravagant diſſipation of his money to foreign powers, to indulge the * pride of his miniſter, and at length being unable to fulfil his engagements, and pay his own troops, will fall again to ruin.

THIS danger ſhould be provided againſt as ſoon as an opportunity offers, of adviſing with the Nabob in ſuch manner, as not to excite his jealouſy or fear; and the ſame opportunity ſhould alſo be taken of ſettling the ſucceſſion, that there may be no confuſion in caſe of his demiſe, as from his advanced age ſuch an event may always be apprehended.

SENSIBLE

* There is before the Board a ſtriking inſtance of Nundcoomar's intriguing diſpoſition. The very firſt letters which came from the Vizir and his principal officers, are filled with nothing but the praiſes of Nundcoomar. His titles and ſeals are received before the Nabob's own; and before any aſſurances are given the Nabob that he will have the ſunnuds for the provinces, he is told, that he muſt give Nundcoomar ſuch and ſuch particular employments, the moſt honorable and valuable belonging to the government; and which the Nabob, at his departure from Calcutta, promiſed to Roydoolub.

SENSIBLE as I am of the neceſſity of guarding againſt theſe dangers, it is with reluctance I mention them, leſt it ſhould be ſuggeſted, that I would promote any meaſures diſagreeable to the Nabob; but as my duty to the Company has always had more weight with me than any other conſideration, ſo it is that only, which, on this occaſion, dictates to me.

BY ſome of the Nabob's letters, you have ſeen already with how much uneaſineſs he expreſſes himſelf upon the leaſt complaint of the agents, or gomaſtahs, of our ſubordinate factories, interfering with his officers in any part of the country. Our influence is ſuch, that it will, for the moſt part, over-rule the Nabob's; ſo that any dependent of ours may abuſe that influence with impunity, if the greateſt care is not taken; and, on all ſuch occaſions, the complaints that are made are attended with invidious exaggerations, in order to excite as much poſſible the jealouſy of the government. In ſhort, our authority has extended itſelf ſo very near the Nabob's, that they are frequently

claſhing, and without a very ſteady and moderate conduct on both ſides, they cannot ſubſiſt upon their preſent footing, nor a friendſhip be maintained with this Nabob, or any other.

To put an end to this precarious and fluctuating ſtate, it is likely the Company will reſolve on an entire change of ſyſtem, and either draw their own connections with the country government into narrower limits, and reduce the private trade to the footing it was on before the capture of Calcutta; or elſe extend them further, and render the country government fully and confeſſedly dependent on theirs. But it will require your greateſt care, gentlemen, to keep the ſcale even, until the orders of the Company can arrive, and to prevent a repetition of thoſe tragical events, of which we have lately been the unhappy witneſſes."

IN anſwer to this I received the following letter from the Board.

Copy

Copy of a Letter from the Gentlemen of the Council to the Governor. Dated December 19, 1763.

SIR,

"THE letter which you laid before us at the Board this morning, having met with our ſerious conſideration, we beg leave to offer you our ſentiments thereon.

THOUGH the war againſt Coſſim Allee Cawn is near brought to a concluſion, and we have a proſpect of the country being ſhortly reſtored to its former tranquillity, yet it will be a work of great difficulty to eſtabliſh meaſures for rendering that tranquillity perfect and ſecure; and many reſolutions will be found neceſſary to be taken, to prevent, if poſſible, the country and Company's trade from being again expoſed to the hazard and deſolation of war; thoſe which you have yourſelf inſtanced, are ſuch as tend very eſſentially to this purpoſe, and will require the greateſt ſteadineſs and attention, to bring them to an happy iſſue. From a conviction therefore, Sir, of the material ſervice you can be of, in for-

warding ſo ſalutary a work, and wherein the well-being of the Company is ſo immediately concerned, we cannot but unanimouſly join in requeſting, that you will poſtpone your intention of returning to Europe this ſeaſon, and that you will continue in the Preſidency of this ſettlement, until we ſhall have the honor to receive the Company's orders, in regard to the future management of their affairs in theſe provinces. We are, with much eſteem, SIR,

Your moſt obedient
Humble Servants,

William Billers,
John Carnac,
Warren Haſtings,
Randolph Marriott,
Hugh Watts,
A. W. Senior,
John Burdett."

UPON this repreſentation of the Council, I could not refuſe to defer my departure,

departure, and accordingly replied to their letter in the following terms.

Copy of a Letter from the Governor to the Gentlemen of the Council. Dated December 22, 1763.

"I HAVE received the honor of your letter of the 19th, in which you are pleaſed to expreſs your opinion, that my remaining in the government at this time is eſſential to the Company's ſervice.

As I think it my duty to prefer that conſideration before all others, I have, in conſequence of your repreſentation, determined to ſtay till next ſeaſon. I ſhall hope, from your aſſiſtance, ſuch relief as my uncertain ſtate of health may require, and am happy in the conviction, that we ſhall carry on all our buſineſs with a perfect unanimity."

I SHOULD not have introduced a circumſtance of ſo little conſequence, and merely perſonal as this is, but that the reader might have expected ſuch an explanation of the motives of my continuance

ance in the chair, or poſſibly have attributed it to caprice, after my having, in ſo formal a manner, declared, and repeated my reſolution, to hold it no longer than whilſt the war laſted. It remains now to ſay ſomething of the Memorial itſelf.

THE plan upon which it is formed may be objected to, as attended with too much prolixity, and ſometimes perhaps with a confuſion of circumſtances, and want of connection, owing to the frequent, and, in ſome places, very long quotations from the records of the government. But I ſhould rather hear it taxed with this inconvenience, than reproached with want of candor, as would have been the caſe, had I made the quotations partially, inſerting thoſe opinions which might ſupport my arguments, and omitting what was urged on the other ſide of the queſtion, of which I have been the more cautious, as ſome of the principal gentlemen, who differed from me, have themſelves fallen in theſe unhappy troubles.

As

I HAVE likewiſe endeavored to avoid in the expreſſion all paſſionate or indecent terms; in ſhort, my view has been to ſhew the uprightneſs of my own intentions, with as little reproach as poſſible to others; and, in this light, I hope it will be accepted by the world.

THE END.